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ABSTRACT

Changes made at Antioch College, Ohio, during the early years of Arthur Ernest Morgan's tenure and factors that influenced these changes are examined. In addition, variables associated with the change period, such as Morgan's leadership style, the faculty and students, and the assistance of individuals outside the college are analyzed. To provide a context for Morgan's presidency and for the process of effecting change within an educational institution, higher education, particularly the liberal arts college, prior to the 1920's, is discussed. Morgan's first major function as president was to begin a major reorganization of the board itself in order to guarantee support of his programs and to enhance the colleges financial backing. The next step was acquiring a supportive faculty; he hired almost a complete new faculty for the fall of 1921 in order to select individuals who possessed qualities of personality, scholarship, and training that would enable them to contribute immediately to the programs envisioned in the Antioch Plan. Morgan de-emphasized specialization, insisting that it occur only in the autonomous courses; he felt that combining academic knowledge with practical experience enabled graduates of the college to gain a better perspective of the world. He believed the Antioch Plan could only function effectively within a small college environment, and promoted cooperative arrangements between the college and business concerns. It is suggested that the combination of a major crisis state at the college and Morgan's abilities resulted in Antioch's reorganization and its innovative approaches to education. A bibliography and lists of contributors are appended. (SW)

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Leadership and the Politics of Innovative Change:

Antioch College Under Arthur E. Morgan

by
George Charles Newman

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FOREWORD

The American higher education enterprise will change in many ways during the 1980's. Most significantly, higher education institutions will more broadly define their mission to attract and serve the millions of Americans on the learning frontier — individuals involved in education programs outside colleges and universities. Toward this end, new partnerships with business, professional associations, the health industry, and high schools will be developed. Change will also be spurred by significant demographic shifts. As increasing numbers of adult learners enroll, most colleges and universities will have to make appropriate adjustments in the curriculum, as well as in student services and activities to meet the needs of a reconstituted learner population. During the 1980's, funding patterns for higher education also will change in important ways, and institutions will have to cultivate new sources and develop new, cooperative arrangements to meet the financial challenges of the decade.

There is no doubt that colleges and universities will change dramatically in the years ahead. The only question is whether the change will be initiated by those within the institutions themselves, or by interested parties without. The past offers little encouragement. The history of American higher education generally illustrates the conservative nature of the enterprise. Precious few have been the advocates of substantive change. Generally, to paraphrase Frederick Rudolph, higher education in this country has been propelled by what happened to it rather than by what it caused to happen.

Arthur E. Morgan was one of the few higher education administrators who successfully effected significant change. His years at Antioch College demonstrated what is possible when intellect and daring are combined with political astuteness. The Morgan years at Antioch provide contemporary educational leaders with an important understanding of the variables associated with change.

The lessons of the past can be used to great benefit; and they are often ignored at great peril. Jacob Bronowski said this about western civilisation:

> The ascent of man will go on. But do not assume that it will go on carried by western civilisation as we know it. We are being weighed in the balance at this moment. If we give up, the next step will be taken — but not by us. We have not been given any guarantee that Assyria and Egypt and Rome were not given. We are waiting to be somebody's past too, and not necessarily that of our future. (**The Ascent of Man,** p. 437)

Today's leaders of colleges and universities might well heed the warning.

Certainly the functions of higher education will continue. Learning will be disseminated; knowledge will be discovered; and service will be performed. But we can not assume they will continue to be the responsibilities of our institutions as we know them. Colleges and universities are being weighed in the balance by the members of many different constituencies, and if they are found wanting, the next step will be taken — but not by them. It will be taken by industry, the military, churches, hospitals, and proprietary institutions of all sorts. American colleges and universities have not been given any guarantee that was not given to Plato's Academy, the Alexandrian Museum, the Byzantine schools, the medieval universities, or the American colonial colleges. Our institutions "are waiting to be somebody's past too, and not necessarily that of our future."

Dr. George C. Newman, who is presently director of Shafer Library and assistant dean at Findlay College (Ohio), has provided a most useful study of change in a twentieth century American higher education institution. His case study offers valuable insights into the process of institutional innovation and adaptation. Those insights can be profitably studied by persons who recognize the importance of the useable past.

John Y. Reid
Director, John H. Russel Center
for the Study of Higher Education

. . . I don't intend to be commonplace. I intend to make a great person of myself. Not, perhaps, great in conspicuousness among men, but great in harmony with God; great in having fulfilled my possibilities; great in having seen which of my possibilities are greatest.

Arthur E. Morgan, 1899

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword ii

I. **Preface: Historical Overview** 1

- Prelude to the Twentieth Century
- Progressivism in Education
- Growth and Standardization

II. **The Institution: Old Antioch** 7

- The Mann Years (1853-1859)
- Passive Retrenchment (1860-1907)
- Conscious Revivalism (1907-1917)
- Crisis (1917-1919)

III. **The Man: Origins of an Educational Philosophy** 12

- The Early Years
- The Engineering Years
- Educational Endeavors

IV. **The Man and the Institution: Reorganization, 1919-1921** 24

- On the Board of Trustees, June 1919-June 1920
- Process of Reorganization, July 1920-June 1921

V. **The New Antioch, 1921-1925** 37

- Curriculum Development
- Peopling the New Antioch
- Modifications of the Antioch Plan

VI. **From Crisis To Stability** 58

- Antioch Accomplishments
- National Comparison

VII. **Summary and Conclusions** 71

VIII. **Epilogue** 76

Appendices 81

- Historiographical Note
- Documentation
- The Comparative Sample
- Sources

Bibliography 97

I. PREFACE: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

As educators of today look toward an uncertain future for higher education, many colleges and universities are facing a situation where change is essential to their continued survival. It is useful, therefore, to look historically at a college which faced many of the same problems, albeit for different reasons. At the beginning of the 1920's, Antioch College appeared on the verge of extinction. With minimal financial resources, a skeletal faculty, and few students, it could not compete with other colleges, both public and private, in the surrounding area. Within a few years, however, it had transformed itself into a rapidly growing and nationally known liberal arts college. Much of the credit for this must be given to one man, Arthur Ernest Morgan, a successful drainage control engineer who became president of Antioch in June of 1920.

This monograph examines changes made at Antioch during the early years of Morgan's tenure and factors which influenced these changes. Further, variables associated with the change period, such as Arthur Morgan's leadership style, the faculty and students, and the assistance of individuals outside the College are analyzed, for they shed light on Morgan's presidency and on the process of effecting change within an educational institution. In order to place the discussion of Morgan's work at Antioch in a proper context, there is a brief discussion of higher education, particularly the liberal arts college, prior to the 1920's.

PRELUDE TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the early part of the nineteenth century, higher education was comprised primarily of small liberal arts colleges. With the emergence of a new type of institution — the university — in the mid-1800's, higher education developed in a bicameral fashion. Both the liberal arts college and the university were concerned with providing education to a select group of the nineteenth-century populace, but the university represented a more secular and utilitarian thrust than the more conservative and provincial college. Aided by the Morrill Act, which in 1862 gave public lands to each state for education in practical vocations such as agriculture, a number of public universities were founded in the latter half of the century. Some private colleges also converted to the university system at this time. Harvard, for example, changed its focus from a college to a research university in 1869.[1] Despite the acceleration of the university movement, however, the university was still relatively small in scale and elitist in nature:

> The initial function of the university was to impress upon a new generation of upper-class youths (and those aspiring to become upper-class) their responsibilities to redirect American society. Students fortunate enough to receive the privilege of university training were obligated to use their disciplined skills in the advancement of society.[2]

The liberal arts college, on the other hand, was a product of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century New England society.* As George Peterson has said, "The college, an expression which, even in this unqualified form, most writers identified with the New England college, was one of the institutions that New England conservatism had created to express its convictions about life."[3] Throughout the years it had maintained the "mental discipline" approach to education and had aimed at providing young people — again generally upper-class youths — with a general, nonspecialized education which would enable them to become learned members of society.

*In the beginning, most liberal arts colleges were founded in New England, and for years they represented models that institutions founded in other parts of the country looked to for direction and purpose in establishing academic components.

Most colleges in the nineteenth century had been founded by religious denominations, particularly the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists. In addition, the origins of the colleges were greatly facilitated by local community influences. Bruce Leslie pointed out that it was not uncommon for church and local interests to work together in founding a private college.[4] David Potts described the collaboration in this way:

> Whereas communities provided substantial contributions and large numbers of students, the official organizations of the denomination provided little more than their sanction and verbal encouragement. The fundamental element in college-founding was the alliance forged between college promoters and a particular town or county. Initially, this alliance was usually expressed in terms of the promoters agreeing to locate the college in a particular community in return for a sum of money raised within that community.[5]

During the late nineteenth century, because of financial and institutional pressures, many colleges were caught in a conflict between secular and denominational forces. There is conflicting documentation, however, regarding the direction in which these colleges shifted. Professor Potts, an historian of the private college, has suggested in his research of Baptist colleges in New England that as these institutions began to realize that neither the institution nor the local community could properly maintain the college, the institution built stronger denominational influences and the founding denominations became controlling factors, influencing leadership, academics, and institutional purpose.[6] This argument is contradicted by research done by Bruce Leslie, who has looked at the development of three colleges in Pennsylvania (Bucknell, Franklin and Marshall, and Swarthmore) over the period from 1870 to 1915. Leslie concludes that, in the "Age of the University," a state of tension existed "between continuing local and denominational distinctiveness and adapting new models of curricular and extra-curricular programs."[7] This factor, along with the need to identify and attract new sources of financial support, caused Bucknell, Franklin and Marshall, and Swarthmore to shift from a local community and denominational distinctiveness to securing support and control from sources of an urban and national, and more secular, nature. While more research is needed to clarify this issue, what is significant from these two studies is the fact that the colleges responded to pressures to change the foundations upon which they were based, with each college changing its focus according to its needs.

A number of changes did occur in the liberal arts college of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and many of these changes are reflected in George Peterson's description:

> In pedagogy the college had come to accept the elective system, the principles of academic freedom (though with some restrictions), and the desirability of grouping faculty members by intellectual discipline. . . . In religion the college had abandoned evangelism and its collegiate trappings of revivals, campaigns, paternalistic discipline, and countless compulsory prayers. For evangelism the college had substituted a reform Christianity more congenial to the intellect and secular life. . . . It . . . had thrown itself into reform, though admittedly the reform was conservative and not long sustained in its original vigor. Yet even when the active reform was completed, the college did not return to its previous upper-class isolation. It had expanded its enrollment to include a more representative part of the population and was content to move in harmony with society, neither protesting nor prodding greatly.[8]

PROGRESSIVISM IN EDUCATION

The beginning of the twentieth century brought a new dimension to the American scene — the progressive movement. A term used to cover a variety of reform movements which took place in the United States during the first part of the century, the progressive movement coincided with the great changes industrialization and urbanization brought to American society. The diversity of this movement was such, however, that historians are still debating its ideological premise, as well as how and when it began and ended. Such confusion even caused one writer, Peter Filene, to conclude that the progressive movement never existed.[9] Nevertheless, through the years several major interpretations of the progressive movement have developed.[10] The earliest was that espoused by contemporaries of the movement.[11] These persons saw progressivism as part of the continuing battle between the "people" and "special interests."

With the advent of Richard Hofstadter's **The Age of Reform from Bryan to F.D.R.** in 1955, a new interpretation of who the progressives were came to the fore.[12] Rather than viewing progressivism as an extension of the populism of the late 1880's and 1890's, Hofstadter saw it as a social movement of successful, urban middle-class persons to restore their own morals and standards to the political and economic spheres. Another group of historians, notably Gabriel Kolko and James Weinstein, postulated that progressivism was actually "the triumph of conservatism," with the progressives interested only in preserving the existing distribution of wealth and power.[13] A less extreme viewpoint than that offered by Kolko and Weinstein is the theory of Robert H. Wiebe that progressive reform was brought about by middle-class professionals who sought to bring their own sense of order to society.[14] These people, Wiebe felt, were not the capitalists of old trying to defend their way of life but "a new class, whose power came not from inherited wealth or status but from the possession of new tools of science, organizational expertise, and a broad, integrative social vision."[15]

The progressive spirit touched more than politics and economics; it also affected social areas such as education. A major historian of the progressive movement in education described it in this way:

> Progressive education began as part and parcel of that broader program of social and political reform called the Progressive Movement. Contrary to the widespread misconception that it dates from the advent of the Progressive Education Association in 1919, the idea had its origin during the quarter-century before World War I in an effort to cast the school as a fundamental lever of social and political regeneration. It began as a many-sided protest against a restricted view of the school, but it was always more than this; for essentially it viewed education as an adjunct to politics in realizing the promise of American life.[16]

Thus progressivism in education, as with progressivism in the political sphere, was composed of many diverse and complex elements and individuals.[17] If generalizations can be made about the aims of progressives in education, the following description clearly shows how progressives felt the schools could be used to improve life:

> First, . . . broadening the program and function of the school to include direct concern for health, vocation and the quality of family and community life. Second, . . . applying in the classroom the pedagogical principles derived from new scientific research in psychology and the social sciences. Third, . . . tailoring instruction more and more to different kinds and classes of children who were being brought within the purview of the school.[18]

Perhaps the most famous of the progressive educators was John Dewey. Described as "one of America's most original and profound thinkers,"[19] Dewey eschewed traditional and autocratic theory in the schools. Believing in the "child-centered"

approach to education, he was particularly concerned with the individual development of students and in the idea that the school should be an active part of the community.[20] While Dewey's ideas did not gain widespread acceptance among educators until years after they were published, his influence was shown "in the broadening of the curriculum, the correlating of subjects, the development of a less rigid notion of discipline, and the relating of school studies to their applications in life."[21]

A variety of schools were established based on the thoughts and theories of progressive education. Two of the most well-known were in Chicago: Colonel Francis Parker's Cook County Normal School and John Dewey's Laboratory School at the University of Chicago. Combining the theories of educational psychology developed by James and Thorndike* with the early European influences of Pestalozzi and Froebel,** these schools and others stressed the following characteristics in their programs: "the inborn divinity of the child, the centrality of his growth, and the importance of play, art, music, expression, and manual training in his educational development."[22]

In 1919 the Progressive Education Association was founded. Led by Stanwood Cobb,[23] to some degree the P.E.A. became the spokesman for the progressive education movement in the 1920's. Stressing "child-centered" pedagogy, its chief purpose was not to erect specific progressive schools but to influence the average teacher. During the 1920's, the P.E.A. widely publicized progressive educational theories, and gradually some of its ideas became a part of American education.

Despite the activities of the progressives, however, progressive educational theories had little impact on the majority of schools in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The reforms that did exist were scattered geographically, and they were sporadically developed over time. Progressivism had an even slighter impact on higher education. Although some reforms were made in American colleges and universities before World War I — the development of the elective system by Harvard President Charles W. Eliot is the most notable example — they were not really a part of the mainstream of the progressive movement.

By 1920, higher education had entered into a period of rapid growth tempered by a general conservatism and lack of innovation. While it had by no means reached the point of "college for everyone," enrollments in higher education institutions were increasing four to five times faster than the general population,[24] with the greatest increases occurring in the publicly controlled segment of higher education.[25] The number of institutions was rising, as were the enrollments per institution.[26] Even the United States' entrance into World War I did not stop this trend. Although enrollment losses as high as 40 percent were reported during the war years,[27] by 1920 higher educational institutions had more than made up for these losses.

Despite quantitative growth, however, higher education had entered into a lull in other aspects of its development. The "academic revolution" which had taken place

*William James was a nineteenth-century American philosopher and psychologist whose study of the human mind led to a greater understanding of the learning process. Thorndike studied behavior and learning early in the twentieth century; his theories of educational psychology had a great impact on textbooks and testing in education. See Lee C. Deighton (ed.), **The Encyclopedia of Education** (New York: MacMillan, 1971), Vol. 5, pp. 239-245; Vol. 9, pp. 230-237.

Pestalozzi was a Swiss educational reformer who late in the eighteenth century established schools which attempted to gear education to the individual nature of the child; Froebel was one of his followers. See William Boyd and Edmund J. King, **The History of Western Education (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1973), pp. 316-328, 351-359.

since the 1870's was over.[28] The concept of university systems had emerged as an accepted part of higher education; the curriculum had been opened up to include fields of study other than classical ones; the elective system had been implemented not only at Harvard but across the country; and faculty and students were moving toward increased specialization. By 1910, education "had evolved into an extremely standard pattern with a major-subject system . . .; a system of universally enforced breadth requirements . . .; and a survival of the free elective system to fill out the remainder of a student's program."[29]

In this respect, liberal arts colleges were no different from the universities in offering their students a fairly standardized curriculum. However, except for the strongly established liberal arts colleges in the East, most small liberal arts colleges were local or regional in purpose and mission and emphasized maintaining the status quo. In particular, the trend toward specialization had been objected to by conservative forces who felt these small colleges should continue their traditional goal of "training the 'Christian gentleman.'"[30]

While the period from 1910 to about 1945 has been characterized as "a period of drift,"[31] there were pockets of innovation and change outside the mainstream of education. Men such as Arthur E. Morgan in the 1920's and Alexander Meiklejohn[32] and Robert Hutchins[33] in the 1930's brought to education new approaches to curriculum which would keep educational innovation alive. Although these reforms had little immediate impact on the mainstream of education, they illustrate important aspects of the process of innovation. Arthur Morgan's work at Antioch College is a good example of how one person can produce major innovative changes in a higher educational institution.

NOTES

[1]Robert L. Church and Michael W. Sedlak, *Education in the United States: An Interpretive History* (New York: The Free Press, 1976), pp. 227-228.

[2]Ibid., p. 236.

[3]George E. Peterson, *The New England College in the Age of the University* (Amherst, Mass.: Amherst College Press, 1964), p. 4.

[4]W. Bruce Leslie, "Localism, Denominationalism, and Institutional Strategies in Urbanizing America: Three Pennsylvania Colleges, 1870-1915," *History of Education Quarterly* 17 (Fall 1977), p. 250.

[5]David B. Potts, "American Colleges in the Nineteenth Century: From Localism to Denominationalism," *History of Education Quarterly* 11 (Winter 1971), p. 367.

[6]Ibid., p. 369.

[7]Leslie, "Pennsylvania Colleges," p. 245.

[8]Peterson, *New England College*, pp. 204-205.

[9]Peter G. Filene, "An Obituary for the Progressive Movement," *American Quarterly* 20 (Spring 1970), pp. 20-34.

[10]David M. Kennedy, "Overview: The Progressive Era," *The Historian* 37 (May 1975), pp. 453-568.

[11]See, for example, Benjamin Park Dewitt, *The Progressive Movement: A Non-Partisan, Comprehensive Discussion of Current Tendencies in American Politics* (New York: Macmillan, 1915).

[12]Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform from Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Knopf, 1955).

[13]Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism: A Re-Interpretation of American History, 1900-1916* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1963); and James Weinstein, *Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, 1910-1918* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).

[14]Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967).

[15]Kennedy, "Overview," p. 461.

[16]Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), p. 88. For an opposing view, see Joel Spring, "Education and Progressivism," *History of Education Quarterly* 10 (Spring 1970), pp. 53-71.

[17]See Louis Filler, "Main Currents in Progressivist American Education," *History of Education Journal* 8 (Winter 1957), pp. 33-57; C. A. Bowers, "The Ideologies of Progressive Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 7 (Winter 1967), pp. 452-473.

[18]Cremin, *Transformation*, pp. viii-ix.

[19]Henry Steele Commager, *Living Ideas in America* (New York: Harper, 1951), p. 587.

[20]Morton White, *Social Thought in America: The Revolt Against Formalism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), pp. 94-100.

[21]Maxine Greene, "Dewey and American Education, 1894-1920," *School and Society* 87 (October 10, 1959), p. 383.

[22]Lawrence A. Cremin, "The Progressive Movement in American Education: A Perspective," *Harvard Educational Review* 27 (Fall 1957), p. 260.

[23]For a complete history of the Progressive Education Association, see Patricia A. Graham, *Progressive Education: From Arcady to Academe: A History of the Progressive Education Association, 1919-1955* (New York: Columbia University Teachers College Press, 1967).

[24]George P. Schmidt, *The Liberal Arts College: A Chapter in American Cultural History* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975), p. 208.

[25]Seymour E. Harris, *A Statistical Portrait of Higher Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), p. 926.

[26]Ibid., p. 941.

[27]Samuel P. Capen, "The Effect of the World War 1914-18 on American Colleges and Universities," *Educational Record* 21 (1940), p. 45.

[28]For a history of this period in American education, see Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

[29]Laurence R. Veysey, "Stability and Experiment in the American Undergraduate Curriculum," in *Content and Context: Essays on College Education*, ed. Carl Kaysen (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), p. 10.

[30]John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1976*, 3d ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 119.

[31]Veysey, "Stability and Experiment," p. 9.

[32]Alexander Meiklejohn, *The Experimental College* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1932).

[33]Robert M. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1936).

II. THE INSTITUTION: OLD ANTIOCH

By the beginning of the 1920's, when the paths of Arthur Morgan and Antioch College crossed, the fortunes of the institution had reached a low ebb. It was not the first time this had occurred, for the College had had a somewhat precarious existence since its founding in the early 1850's.

THE MANN YEARS (1853-1859)

The founding of Antioch College was first proposed in 1850 at a convention of the Christian Church. This was a relatively small religious sect which some 60 years before had united a number of splinter groups from other denominations and which was characterized by a wide diversity of opinion.[1] By 1852 the site of Yellow Springs, Ohio, had been chosen because financial contributions had been greatest from this state,[2] and Horace Mann had been selected as Antioch's first president.

A great political reformer and leader of the common school movement in Massachusetts during the 1830's and 1840's,[3] Mann had been intrigued by the opportunity to once again return to the educational field.* Not only would it allow him to help advance the state of education, but at the same time he would be able to withdraw from the intensity of the political arena. Antioch College appealed to Mann for several reasons.[4] First, although the curriculum would include religion, the College was to be nonsectarian. Second, it would be a coeducational institution, which was somewhat unusual in those days. Third, Mann believed the College would be liberally endowed by the Christians. His initial interest in the College waned somewhat, however, upon discovering that he would have to share the running of the College with a business manager and that his salary might be somewhat less than first promised. Accordingly, he allowed himself to be nominated for the governorship of Massachusetts. But he lost the election and thus began his association with Antioch College.

When the school opened in 1853, it had a promising future ahead of it. Mann's prominence brought to Antioch an eager band of faculty and students. New approaches to education, such as the use of electives and the emphasis on teaching rather than recitations, were implemented,[5] but almost immediately financial problems weighed heavily on the College. The Christian Church was unable to provide Antioch with an adequate endowment, and due to mismanagement of the existing finances by the business manager, within a year of its inauguration the College could pay neither its bills nor its faculty salaries.[6]

Unwilling to desert Antioch, Mann spent the remaining years of his presidency traveling around the Midwest and East raising what money he could. Ironically, his popularity brought more students to Antioch,[7] thus plunging the College even deeper into debt.[8] Losing ground daily in the battle to keep afloat, Antioch was declared bankrupt in 1859 and was purchased by a group of Mann's eastern friends.[9] The first Board of Trustees for the newly reorganized College represented a number of geographical areas: Of the 19 trustees, 5 were from Yellow Springs (including Mann who had come from Massachusetts); 3 were from Ohio; and the remainder came from various eastern and midwestern cities.[10] Mann accepted the presidency of the Board and the next day delivered what was to be his last commencement address. That summer, in his 60's and fatigued by the years of incessant struggling to save the College, he became seriously ill, and on August 4, 1859, he died.

The Mann years were an important period in Antioch's history. Not only was Mann, by virtue of his reputation, instrumental in establishing the College as a legitimate arena for higher education, but his dedication and hard work kept Antioch from folding in its first years because of financial problems. The following decades would find the College trying to maintain the spirit of the Mann years yet never quite succeeding.

*He had been in politics both before and after the years spent working for the improvement of the public school system.

PASSIVE RETRENCHMENT (1860-1907)

The next half century proved to be a difficult period for the College, with its financial problems compounded by denominational disputes between the Christians and the Unitarians.[11] During the Mann years the Unitarians had contributed much of the College's money,[12] and thus a number of the trustees were Unitarians (although there were more Christians on the Board than Unitarians). The power struggle between these two groups regarding Antioch's leadership and direction first exploded as early as 1861. In an effort to resolve this power struggle, it was agreed that if the Christian trustees raised specified sums of money by stated dates, the Unitarians would "retire and abandon all legal rights under [the] Charter."[13] Should they fail, the Unitarians would have an equal opportunity to raise the money and oust the Christian trustees. When both sides failed to raise the total amount required, the Christians were given an extension of two years. Again they failed to provide Antioch with sufficient funds, and it was not until 1865, when Antioch trustee Edward Everett Hale (a Unitarian minister and author of **The Man Without a Country**) secured a $100,000 endowment from the Unitarians,[14] that the denominational struggle for control of Antioch was over — for the time being.

The next years were relatively quiet ones, although by the end of the 1870's there were new indications of trouble. Enrollment difficulties are hinted at in this statement by the Board of Trustees:

> The new State University at Columbus with its ample equipment and able teachers is beginning to make itself felt in the counties whence we have usually drawn students.[15]

Furthermore, during the depression of the 1870's Antioch's income from its endowment was depleted. By 1881, therefore, the College was forced to suspend operations until the endowment could accrue enough interest to allow the reopening of the College.

In 1882 the Christian Education Society reopened Antioch after the trustees had agreed to allow the Society to name the president and faculty, although the following year the trustees retained control of the final decisions regarding hiring and firing.[16] As the Christians again failed to provide the promised financial support — this time an increase in the endowment — the College was forced to forbid employment of faculty "unless they shall expressly release the Trustees and College from all liability for salary."[17]

In the midst of these difficulties, denominational conflict again began to appear. The Unitarians charged that since the College was no longer under their control, they were not obligated to pay Antioch the income from an endowment fund. In 1897, a court ruling stated that the terms of the fund — that the College be under the management of the Unitarians—had not been breached. The trustees still managed the College, it said, although the Christians did control the instruction, for Unitarian representation on the Board of Trustees had remained at the same percentage since 1865.[18] At the same time the Unitarians were unhappy, so too were the Christians. The president of the American Christian Convention reported to the trustees that he felt there should be more Christians on the Board.[19] By 1898, however, fights between the two denominations for control of Antioch ended with the trustees' decision not to allow the Christian Education Association to make faculty appointments.[20]

As Antioch entered the twentieth century, its denominational problems were over, but its financial position was again precarious. In 1899 a committee was set up to determine under what conditions the school should be kept open.[21] Apparently the conditions were not too stringent, for Antioch continued to operate even though salaries for faculty had to be set at $500-700 and the president's salary at $1,500[22] (half of what Horace Mann had originally been offered in 1852).

Antioch College had nine presidents during the entire period from 1859 to 1906.[23]

Although some of these men later became distinguished educators at other institutions,[24] none was able to transcend the factionalism between the Unitarians and the Christians and implement solutions to Antioch's increasing problems. With finances always the overriding issue, work on curriculum development or faculty and student morale was impossible. Small wonder, then, that the original enthusiasm and optimism which accompanied Antioch's founding became nearly extinct.

CONSCIOUS REVIVALISM (1907-1917)

In 1907 Simeon Fess, a history professor at Ohio Northern University, was installed as president of Antioch College.[25] This event was hailed as "the most auspicious opening that has taken place at Antioch since the time of Horace Mann."[26] Fess' influence on the College became apparent almost immediately. Under his guidance, programs for individuals seeking to become teachers were developed, largely through a summer school program. Combined with the introduction of the Chautauqua — a series of lectures and symposiums sponsored by the College — increasing numbers of students came to the campus during the summer months.[27] Enrollment figures climbed rapidly as a result. During each of the first five years of Fess' presidency, the total number of students at Antioch was well over 200 students, while during the preceding five years enrollment had fluctuated between 48 and 82 students.[28]

During the next three years, from 1912 to 1915, the College's enrollment dropped again, to between 150 and 200 students.[29] Fess, long an authority on American political parties,[30] decided to throw his hat into the political arena and in 1912 was elected to Congress. In 1913, the trustees reported in their minutes: "Spirit of College higher than ever but attendance falling off a bit, probably on account of his Membership in the National House of Representatives."[31] During the remainder of Fess' presidency, therefore, Antioch suffered from his inability to devote himself full-time to the College, although enrollments again arose to over 200 for the years 1915-1917,[32] partly because of the introduction of a music program along the lines of the summer program for teachers.

While Simeon Fess most certainly had a positive effect upon Antioch College in terms of enrollment, he was still unable to greatly change or improve the basic dilemma confronting it — finances. His efforts at fund-raising were largely unsuccessful,[33] and as he ended his tenure as president, the College's financial situation was looking worse than ever. With Antioch's yearly budget at less than $10,000,[34] in 1916 Fess found it would be necessary to secure money from outside sources in order to increase by $50 the salary of each faculty member earning less than $800.[35] It seems likely that he did not succeed in his efforts, for at the time of Fess' resignation from the presidency, the Board of Trustees voted that the "Board will not guarantee any amount to the faculty beyond the income from the funds and the students,"[36] and they allowed some faculty positions to remain vacant "for the present time of stress."[37] The seriousness of Antioch's money crisis is even more apparent in the fact that at this time the trustees considered having the College affiliate with the state university and be actively managed by it.[38]

CRISIS (1917-1919)

Following Fess' resignation, George Black, a professor of religion and vice-president of the College, took on the responsibilities of acting president of the institution. Black had acted as president during the periods when Fess was in Washington and appeared to be a logical choice to succeed him. During Black's two-year tenure, however, Antioch College slipped closer to disaster. While Black cannot be considered a man of great leadership and insight, this critical situation cannot be blamed entirely on him. The entrance of the United States into World War I most assuredly affected the College, and enrollments again dropped to around 100 students.[39] Yet, at the same time, the war provided the trustees with an idea on how to

pull Antioch out of its financial bind. In late 1918 the Board worked out an agreement with the Army to use the College as a training ground. This plan never materialized, however, even though in 1918 military men were housed there for a time and also used other College facilities.[40]

A second attempt to resolve Antioch's financial difficulties occurred early in 1919, when the Board of Trustees began serious negotiations with the national Y.M.C.A.[41] It was agreed that the College would become the National College of the Y.M.C.A., operating much the same as before but controlled and financed by the national organization.[42] Twelve of the trustees were ready to resign and make way for Y.M.C.A. representatives, and Dr. Grant Perkins, the chief Y.M.C.A. representative, was appointed president of Antioch.[43] But again the problem of finances reared its ugly head. The Y.M.C.A. had promised to raise a $500,000 endowment, but shortly before taking office Perkins reported he was not prepared to do so and resigned.[44]

With this voiding of the agreement, the Board of Trustees again gathered its forces and prepared to make the best of the situation. In June of 1919, they appointed another faculty member, William Dawson, as acting president of Antioch and filled several vacancies on the Board, one of whom was Arthur Morgan. The College was then on the verge of collapse. Antioch, which had been founded with such high hopes, had deteriorated greatly through the many years of financial trouble. Its faculty members were underpaid and for the most part undistinguished, and its physical facilities were badly in need of repair. The students who attended Antioch were generally from the surrounding area, and as only one of a dozen small private schools in the area it could no longer adequately compete for students. Even the Board of Trustees lacked the national representation found in the Board of the early years.

It looked to many as if Antioch would soon become extinct after many years of struggle. While "[t]he history of virtually every American college and university, from its beginning to the present day, has been one long, repeated, often desperate search for funds,"[45] no one at Antioch could come up with any new ideas on how to save the College. It was into this situation that Arthur E. Morgan was thrust, in June of 1919, when he was selected to serve on the Board of Trustees. Who was this man whose experience and philosophy of education enabled him to bring to Antioch reforms and innovations which would have a lasting effect on the College?

NOTES

[1]Robert L. Straker, *A Brief Sketch of Antioch College, 1852-1921* (Yellow Springs, O.: Antioch College Office of Information, n.d.), p. 1.

[2]Ibid.

[3]See Mary Peabody Mann, *Life with Horace Mann* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, 1937); Joy Elmer Morgan, *Horace Mann at Antioch* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, 1938); Robert L. Straker, *The Unseen Harvest: Horace Mann and Antioch College* (Yellow Springs, O.: Antioch Press, 1955); and Jonathan Messerli, *Horace Mann: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972).

[4]Messerli, *Horace Mann*, p. 534; Straker, *Brief Sketch*, p. 4.

[5]Messerli, *Horace Mann*, p. 557.

[6]Ibid., pp. 558-560.

[7]Straker, *Brief Sketch*, p. 5.

[8]Messerli, *Horace Mann*, pp. 559-560, 566.

[9]Ibid., p. 582.

[10]Antioch College, Report of the Secretary of Antioch College, April 22, 1859. (Microfilm.)

[11]For a good description of this entire period, see Straker, *Brief Sketch*, pp. 7-17.

[12]Straker, *Brief Sketch*, p. 3.

[13]Antioch College, Report of the Secretary of Antioch College, June 27, 1861. (Microfilm.)

[14]Antioch College, Report of the Secretary of Antioch College, June 21, 1865. (Microfilm.)

[15]Antioch College. Report of the Secretary of Antioch College, June 17, 1879. (Microfilm.)

[16]Antioch College, Report of the Secretary of Antioch College, June 16, 1883. (Microfilm.)

[17]Antioch College, Report of the Secretary of Antioch College, June 17, 1884. (Microfilm.)

[18]Antioch College, Report of the Secretary of Antioch College, June 22, 1897. (Microfilm.) The percentage was not specified.

[19]Antioch College, Report of the Secretary of Antioch College, June 18, 1895. (Microfilm.)

[20]Straker, *Brief Sketch*, p. 16.

[21]Antioch College, Report of the Secretary of Antioch College, January 10, 1899. (Microfilm.)

[22]Straker, *Brief Sketch*, p. 16.

[23]

Tenure	President
1859-1862	Thomas Hill
1862-1866	Austin Craig
1866-1872	George W. Hosmer
1872-1873	Edward Orton
1873-1882	Samuel C. Derby
1882-1883	Orin J. Wait
1883-1899	Daniel A. Long
1899-1902	William A. Bell
1902-1907	F. W. Hooper

From Antioch College, "Enrollment at Antioch College," comp. Bessie Totten, [1935].

[24]For example, Thomas Hill was elected president of Harvard in 1862, and in 1873 Edward Orton was elected the first president of what was later to become Ohio State University.

[25]See John R. Nethers, *Simeon D. Fess: Educator and Politician* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Pageant-Poseidon, 1973).

[26]*Antiochian* (yearbook), vol. 3) (October 1906), pp. 14-15.

[27]Straker, *Brief Sketch*, p. 17.

[28]Antioch College, "Enrollment."

[29]Ibid.

[30]Straker, *Brief Sketch*, p. 17.

[31]Antioch College, Report of the Secretary of Antioch College, June 17, 1913. (Microfilm.)

[32]Antioch College, "Enrollment."

[33]Straker, *Brief Sketch*, p. 17.

[34]Burton R. Clark, *The Distinctive College: Antioch, Reed and Swarthmore* (Chicago: Aldine, 1970), p. 18.

[35]Antioch College, Minutes of the [Board of] Trustees of Antioch College, June 6, 1916.

[36]Antioch College, Report of the Secretary of Antioch College, June 5, 1917. (Microfilm.)

[37]Antioch College, Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Antioch College, June 5, 1917.

[38]F[rancis] C. Caldwell, letter to Judge Hosea, May 27, 1916; F[rancis] C. Caldwell, letter to S. D. Fess, April 6, 1917. This plan did not get beyond the discussion stage, however.

[39]Antioch College, "Enrollment." This enrollment drop was paralleled by other colleges and universities across the country; see Samuel P. Capen, "The Effect of the World War 1914-18 on American Colleges and Universities," *Educational Record* 21 (1940), pp. 40-48; and Carol S. Gruber, *Mars and Minerva: World War I and the Uses of Higher Learning in America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1976).

[40]Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Trustees of Antioch College, August 15, 1918; Minutes of the Trustees of Antioch College, September 4, 1918; Antioch College Catalogue, 1918-1919; all summarized in R[obert] L. Straker, "Notes on Antioch History, 1903-1920," Antioch College, 1953, pp. 373-374.

[41]Minutes of the Trustees of Antioch College, February 7, 1919; Minutes of the Trustees of Antioch College, May 20, 1919; both summarized in Straker, "Notes, 1903-1920," pp. 375-378.

[42]Straker, *Brief Sketch*, p. 18.

[43]Ibid., p. 19.

[44]Ibid.

[45]George P. Schmidt, *The Liberal Arts College: A Chapter in American Cultural History* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975), p. 14.

III. THE MAN: ORIGINS OF AN EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

Arthur E. Morgan was a man of many interests and abilities. Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on June 20, 1878, he grew up in the pioneer atmosphere of rural Minnesota, acquiring a love of nature and an affinity for small communities which would continue throughout his lifetime. Always an intense person, he considered life itself to be an educational experience. Recreational activities such as hiking and gardening were arenas for finding out new information about botany and geology — subjects which fascinated him. Even while traveling, his inquisitive mind produced new discoveries: "Noticing wagon tracks preserved by the lava in the streets of Pompei, he was moved to measure their distance apart and commented that it was exactly the distance that is found between rails in a modern standard gage railway."[1] Coupled with this serious side, however, was a wry sense of humor which originated from his observations of the world around him. Upon seeing paintings of the Old Dutch Masters in Europe, for example, he remarked, "'I wonder if people would think these were so great if nobody told them.'"[2]

A man of high moral standards, Morgan disapproved of both drinking and smoking. At the same time, he made allowances for others' shortcomings, both real and perceived. An Antioch faculty member recounted an incident in which he accidentally spilled a jug of fermenting wine over his driveway just before Morgan and his wife were to visit; despite the strong smell, Morgan never commented upon it.[3] The wife of another early faculty member, Hendrik Willem Van Loon, was the talk of the town for walking down the main street smoking a cigarette, yet the Van Loon son and Morgan's son Ernest were good friends.[4] On the other hand, Morgan was not above trying to convince others of the errors of their ways. He did this not in the usual way, by proselytizing, but scientifically. In the late 1920's, he commissioned the Medical Department of Antioch to make elaborate studies of the relationship between smoking and students' success in school as well as between the amount of sleep they had and their scholastic success.[5] While these studies were never used to implement policy at the College,[6] there was much discussion on campus about these issues.

Arthur Morgan was a humanitarian, concerned with the quality of human life. One facet of this was his interest in education, for he believed that with a higher quality of education people would be better prepared to live a fuller and more effective life. Although he was relatively unknown in higher educational circles when he began his association with Antioch College in 1919, Morgan was not a novice to educational thinking. As a youth he had begun to define his own philosophy of life and in turn his philosophy of education. He later crystallized his ideas and used them as the foundation for his activities in education.

THE EARLY YEARS

Arthur E. Morgan's parents were opposites in personality and in their outlook on life, and as he grew up Morgan exhibited the characteristics of both.[7] His strong sense of morality and his ability to persevere came from his mother, Anna Wiley Morgan, a former school teacher.* His father John, a surveyor by trade, lacked a sense of drive but was a very intelligent man, keenly interested in literary works as well as scientific endeavors. It was from his father that Arthur acquired an inquiring mind and a capacity for clear-headed scientific thinking.

*Morgan may also have developed a case of hypochondria because of her, using "poor health" as an excuse for not measuring up to her standards. His diary documents frequent complaints about the state of his health and the inability to do many things because of it. See Roy Talbert, "Beyond Pragmatism: The Story of Arthur E. Morgan" (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1975).

An introspective young man, Arthur Morgan once said:

> Above all else I wanted a philosophy for my life. . . . By the time I was seventeen such a philosophy of life had quite definitely emerged. It included four items: loyalty to truth, loyalty to life, faith, and patience.[8]

Seeking the truth about life and the world around him, he later stated: "If I have a theory . . . I want to hold it because it seems to me to be true, and not because it is convenient."[9] And he felt that by examining a question scientifically and objectively one was better able to discover the right answer.[10] Religion also played a large part in the development of Morgan's philosophy during these early adult years. As a youth he strove to live a "proper Christian life," never quite reaching the level of perfection he felt he should.[11] Although his faith underwent modifications throughout the succeeding years and he became less preoccupied with religion, he continued to be strongly influenced by Christian teachings on morality and ethics. The fourth aspect of his early philosophy, patience, was perhaps the hardest rule for Morgan to live by. Those who knew him during the Antioch years have commented on his impatience at not being able to accomplish his plans as quickly as he wished.[12] He would present an idea to the faculty, for example, get their support, and expect it to be implemented at once.

In later years Morgan added other ideas to this initial philosophical framework:

> In the years that passed, . . . the idea grew that a sense of proportion, a sort of budget for one's life, would be necessary. Only by constant appraisal and selection and by rigorous elimination of the inconsequential and the relatively less important can universality of interest be achieved, and hurried, overwrought living be avoided.[13]

Morgan followed these basic tenets in his daily living. He believed strongly that well-organized and effective application of one's talents could accomplish a great deal.[14] But in order to succeed in such endeavors, one had to discipline oneself. An example from his later land-surveying days points out his dedication to these principles. The crew he worked with always played cards in the evening, but Morgan felt that this was not a rewarding pastime. He therefore spent his evenings in a corner of the room studying engineering by the light of a kerosene lamp.[15]

With his love of knowledge and learning, it was only natural that Arthur Morgan would become interested in education. At first his philosophy of education existed in his mind merely as a series of questions based upon his own experiences.[16] Why, he asked himself, could students not learn from experiencing life rather than rote learning from textbooks? Why could education not be imparted through guidance rather than indoctrination? By the time he was eighteen, this questioning had crystallized into a clear picture of what he considered an ideal educational system:

> I thought of the institution as constituting a community, being economically self-sustaining by its own industrial undertakings. . . . I thought of the young people and their older teachers and practical associates as living and working together and trying to create a unit of society, such as a good society might be.[17]

Interested in the concepts of utopianism, Morgan viewed school as an organization with individual parts which function as a whole. This strong sense of community would emerge even more distinctly in his plans for various educational ventures.

In 1897, at the age of eighteen, Morgan became restless with the limitations and boundaries of a small rural community, and he was eager to learn more about both himself and the world. So he left Minnesota and headed west.* During his travels he

*During these years on his own, Arthur Morgan kept a personal diary, recording both his experiences and his thoughts. Lucy Morgan later used these diaries as the basis for a book chronicling her husband's life prior to his association with Antioch. See Lucy G. Morgan, **Finding His World: The Story of Arthur E. Morgan** (Yellow Springs, O.: Kahoe & Co., 1928).

attempted several new vocations, from mining to selling books. But although times were often rough, Morgan continued to read and ponder over educational ideas. He was impressed by a definition of a teacher which he had read, and he recorded it in his diary:

> The great teacher is the great inspirer, not necessarily the one who can present the most knowledge in the most attractive way. The best teacher is the one who helps the pupil find himself. He is the diver who brings up from the depths of our natures priceless pearls of thought which we had never before dreamed we possessed.[18]

Evidently Arthur Morgan took this definition very much to heart, for in later years he was himself to become "the great inspirer," able to interest prospective faculty, students, and donors in the Antioch Plan.

By 1898, Morgan had decided to pursue further educational studies, so he enrolled in a preparatory school for college. Three months later he was doubting the wisdom of continuing. He wrote:

> I am very thick-headed at school, compared with what I used to be. . . . The social tendency here is not elevating, and it sometimes seems as though I am losing ground rather than gaining any.[19]

Shortly thereafter he left school, ostensibly because of problems with his eyes. Very likely, an equally important reason was that he did not find school a productive use of his time. Nevertheless, the following fall he began regular college work at the University of Colorado. Six weeks later his eyes again gave out, and thus his formal education was brought to a close. He never again pursued a college degree, believing after his brief exposure to higher education that he could learn more through his own readings and through direct experience with life itself. These feelings were reflected somewhat later when, in 1908, he recorded in his diary a visit to a university, where he met a number of faculty members. While impressed with the buildings, he did not have equivalent praise for the education received there:

> . . . there is a spirit about it that misses the meaning of life. There is a tremendous advantage in some ways in not having been to college. . . . Most of the college men have been so busy studying that they have had no time to think or to be men.[20]

THE ENGINEERING YEARS

At the turn of the century, in 1900, Arthur Morgan returned to his home town of St. Cloud, Minnesota, a more self-confident person. He joined his father's surveying business to learn the trade. His interest and understanding of surveying techniques developed rapidly, leading to a government appointment appraising timber in Minnesota. By 1904, he had become successful enough to be chosen county surveyor. It was during this experience that he became interested in the mechanics of conservation and engineering, and he began to specialize in the area of drainage and water control.

Arthur Morgan's move into the surveying and engineering phase of his life marked a shift in his development and in his appreciation of education. As a surveyor and engineer he had a unique opportunity to observe the activities, skills, and training of others. The most critical issue to Morgan was the fact that many of these individuals, although specialists in the field, were lacking in certain attitudinal and perceptual skills. He came to realize how important the interrelationships of different informational areas were. He felt that it was not only a mechanical process that made an engineer successful, but that a good engineer should be able to conceptualize to a greater degree the impact of his work on the individual as well as on society. This could

be accomplished through a synthesis of one's philosophy and skills, a process which became synonymous with many of Morgan's engineering projects.

In 1905, Arthur Morgan married Urania Jones, and a year later Ernest Morgan was born. Tragically, Urania died the following year, and for the next few years, Ernest was raised primarily by Arthur Morgan's parents. This was necessitated by the fact that Morgan's duties as county surveyor had expanded to the point that he was required to spend a great amount of time traveling throughout the state. In 1907 he was hired as a "supervising drainage engineer" by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, work which required him to encounter and analyze problems related on a broader scale to drainage, land surveys, and water control issues.

A few years later, however, Arthur Morgan became dissatisfied with the politics of government patronage and decided to organize his own engineering firm. With the help of L. L. Hidinger, a drainage engineer he had worked with during his tenure with the U.S. Department of Agriculture,[21] the Morgan Engineering Company was formed in 1910. The firm was headquartered in Memphis, Tennessee, so that the two partners could utilize the contacts they had made in that area during their years with the government. Over the next few years, the Morgan Engineering Company became involved in numerous projects throughout the country, and Arthur Morgan himself began to assume prominence as an engineer with a specialization in the area of water control.

In some ways Morgan's view of engineering was as unconventional and ahead of its time as his ideas about education were later to become. He successfully solved engineering problems in ways which were at variance with accepted methods.[22] Interested in the aesthetics of engineering, he tried to incorporate his concern for the environment into his work. For example, when he began building dams in the Dayton area, he eliminated large railings from the dams so people could view the landscape when they crossed.[23]

Running his own company prepared Arthur Morgan well for his later work at Antioch College. Having to recruit and manage a number of different engineering personnel, he became adept at carefully searching for and selecting the best people. He soon learned to recognize the qualities he wanted in his employees, and he tended to look for persons who would complement his own thinking by offering suggestions on ways to improve a project.[24] Although in his hiring practices he was more concerned with work experience than with education,[25] he often found that his engineers could scarcely write a coherent sentence even though they had college degrees.[26] Such encounters left him concerned about the quality of education and determined to change it.

Through most of this period, Morgan's interest in education was submerged beneath the more pressing problems of his work and family. However, he did begin to formulate a plan for setting up a school based upon his own philosophy and ideals, a school where children like his son could acquire a different kind of education than he himself had received. In 1909, during a business trip to Arkansas, Morgan seriously considered purchasing a tract of land in the Ozarks for the site of a future school. He also began searching for individuals who could help him develop his ideas, as well as serve as teachers in such a school, and it was this endeavor that one day took him to Wellesley College in Massachusetts.[27] There he met a young college instructor, Lucy Griscom, who shared a similar interest in his ideas as well as an understanding of educational innovation.

Lucy's experience with nontraditional education was firsthand. As a child she had attended a small private school where students were taught through actual experience and where the outdoors was part of their classroom.[28] Later she received her collegiate training at the University of Pennsylvania, earning a B.S. in biology in 1903 and an M.S. in chemistry in 1906. She then taught at the College for Women in Columbia,

South Carolina, and at Wellesley College in Massachusetts. Although trained in the sciences, she was also interested in nutrition, home design, history, literature, and the progressive educational theories of the time. Sharing a similar intellectual attitude, a concern for a new type of education, and a strong moral background, it is not surprising that Arthur and Lucy were married in 1911. Subsequently three children were born to the couple — Griscom (1912), Frances (1914), and an infant who died.

In the years following their marriage, Lucy became an important influence upon the development of Arthur Morgan's educational philosophy. In later years he was to say, "her reading was the source of much of my information."[29] Lucy's reading undoubtedly included the theories of child-centered learning that had emerged in Europe and the United States, since she herself had been a product of such philosophies. In fact, her childhood schooling was directly descended from the teachings of Pestalozzi.[30] Thus her personal contact with alternative types of education and her extensive readings on the subject helped provide Arthur Morgan with insights into the practical as well as philosophical aspects of different approaches to education. It was through conversations with Lucy that Morgan's original throughts and ideas about education began to crystallize into a coherent philosophy. Lucy believed strongly in her husband's plans for opening a school of their own.

In the meantime, however, he had a major project to contend with, for as a result of his engineering activities, Arthur Morgan's life shifted into national focus. In March of 1913, a major flood had taken a heavy toll of lives and property in the Miami Valley, which included Dayton, Ohio, and its surrounding communities. Two months later the Dayton Flood Prevention Committee employed Morgan to direct a massive flood control project.[31] Known as the Miami Conservancy District, its total cost was later estimated at well over $30 million.[32]

The first major task Morgan encountered at Dayton involved the sponsorship of new legislation to legitimize the Miami Conservancy District. Morgan's success in this venture resulted in the creation of a flood control project which served as a future model for other states concerned with similar problems. It can be said that as an engineer one of Arthur E. Morgan's greatest feats was the Miami Conservancy District. To him it was more than the incorporation of new legal codes, more than the building of new drainage systems and dams; it was to become in many respects an enlargement and social application of many of his thoughts on the nature of society and man.[33]

In 1915, Morgan organized the Dayton Morgan Engineering Company in Dayton, Ohio, while retaining an interest in his Memphis firm.[34] At this time he was also made chief engineer of the Miami Conservancy District. In this latter capacity he not only built the appropriate drainage systems but was able, on a large scale, to redesign and rebuild many of the communities affected by the flood. Morgan felt strongly that "master plans" for these communities should not lose sight of the needs of the people who would live there. Through his efforts, therefore, new schools, parks, housing, and transportation systems were established in the Dayton area. It is a tribute to Arthur Morgan's leadership abilities that he was able to convince the governing board of the Miami Conservancy District that the land acquired by the District should be converted into permanent public parks.[35]

Such achievements were not accomplished at the expense of the workers, however. Morgan was just as concerned about the lives of the thousands of workmen he had recruited for the project. Instead of housing them in temporary camps, he built a model village for them at each of the construction sites. The homes, with four different floor plans, were designed by Lucy Morgan and were attractive yet simple and economical.[36] Schools were also established for the children of the workmen, and night classes were begun for the employees.[37] Such concern for the workers' well-being resulted in a more stable and productive work force.

As an engineer, Arthur Morgan developed the ability to perceive problems and issues and to solve them through critical thinking. He always tried to gather as much information as possible about a project and to study and analyze the data before embarking on a method or solution. This method of problem-solving was to be a characteristic of his throughout his life, and it proved to be a major aspect of his management style as president of Antioch College.

EDUCATIONAL ENDEAVORS

During his years with the Miami Conservancy District, Arthur Morgan's plans for starting a school of his own continued to take shape. Arthur and Lucy had been looking for a suitable place to start their school, and in 1915 they purchased a tract of land in the Berkshires of Massachusetts. Lucy named the site Jacob's Pillow. The school they planned to build there was envisioned as one which would prepare young boys for college, but in a very unconventional way. It would function as an ongoing, and hopefully self-sustaining, business concern; the boys would learn fundamental principles of mathematics and other subjects through the operation of its various small industries.[38] Living and working at the school, each boy would progress at his own pace and learn about life and the world around him through actual experiences. Some of these ideas for the school at Jacob's Pillow appear to have come from Lucy Morgan's experiences in school, but the impetus for implementing them came from Arthur Morgan's childhood education:

> When I was a boy enduring the stupid formalities of our little western town schools, . . . it frequently seemed to me that men and women were essentially heedless and forgetful; each had been a boy or girl . . . and yet each as he grew up forgot that experience, and came to treat children in the conventional way in which his elders had treated him. I endeavored frequently to record definitely and permanently in my mind what were the points of view and the outlook of a child, and promised myself many times that when I should grow up, I would not forget.[39]

By 1916, Morgan's plans for Jacob's Pillow were quite definite. He knew not only the philosophy he wanted implemented at the school but the physical appearance of the school itself (a "reproduction of home on a New England farm") and the size of the student body (initially not more than 12 boys).[40] But the school was not to be. Not only did Morgan's dreams for Jacob's Pillow have to compete with his need to make a living for his family, but he was unable to obtain the necessary money. In 1918, he tried to interest a New Yorker who wanted to set up a summer camp to purchase land nearby and share the same personnel, especially a teacher named Arthur Hauck, whom he had hired the year before for the Moraine Park School (discussed below) and of whom he thought highly.[41] But Morgan never found sufficient financial backing for his school. When he became involved with Antioch College, he decided this would be a better forum for his educational ideas, and his dream for Jacob's Pillow was abandoned.

Even before Antioch, however, Morgan had an opportunity to utilize some pertinent ideas which had emanated from the Jacob's Pillow project. During his years with the Miami Conservancy District, he had become friends with a number of the leading citizens of Dayton, Ohio, including Colonel Edward O. Deeds, an industrialist, Orville Wright the inventor, and Charles F. Kettering, an inventor and industrialist, among others. Much of their association revolved around their activities and meetings at the Dayton Engineering Club, where informal discussion on a variety of social and business-related issues took place. While in Dayton, Arthur Morgan had become increasingly concerned about the quality of its public schools. As he later stated:

> There is strong conviction that the schools never have realized more than a small part of their possibilities. . . . Any present-day school which is not experimental is probably lacking the living spirit of growth.[42]

One day in 1916, therefore, Morgan suggested to his friends that they start a laboratory school in the Dayton area that would combine theoretical skills with practical experiences.[43] He knew, of course, how he wanted the school to function, but he sought the financial support of men such as Deeds, Kettering, and Wright to get the school going and to allow a policy whereby students could be assessed tuition based upon their ability to pay, thus assuring students from all economic strata and not just the wealthy.[44] Sharing Morgan's concern for education, the men agreed to help establish a school for boys. (Although the Moraine Park School started out as a boys school, within a few years it became coeducational.)

The founding of the Moraine Park School was not merely a response to the founders' dissatisfaction with the conditions of public education in the Dayton area. Although that was definitely part of it, most people do not respond to such dissatisfaction by starting their own school. In this case, Arthur Morgan was the catalyst; he saw the school as a forum for his educational philosophy. He was able to convince Deeds, Kettering, and the others that establishing a school of their own design would not only benefit the students who went there but could eventually influence the direction of public education in the area.[45] It is not surprising that Morgan found it relatively easy to convince them to support his ideas, for most were self-made men who had little faith in formal educational institutions and who were suspicious of traditional educational systems. Furthermore, Morgan's ideas, though unconventional, were not entirely unique to education. There was, at the time, emerging throughout the country a spirit of progressive concern for the mission and direction of schools and education in general.[46]

Largely through the efforts of Arthur Morgan and Charles Kettering, the Moraine Park School was opened in 1917. Kettering, a wealthy Dayton industrialist, donated much of the school's initial finances as well as the building. A greenhouse on the edge of the city was remodelled and used for about five years, until a more suitable building was erected.* Morgan's role was to select the appropriate headmaster and faculty. In order to do this, he first wrote a prospectus entitled "An Outline of a Proposed Boys' School for Which a Headmaster or Teacher Is Being Sought." This formed the basis for the school's philosophical foundation and provided it with a set of objectives. It also clearly illustrated Morgan's philosophy of education:

> Bearing in mind always the need for maintaining progress approximately equal to that of our graded schools, the aims should be, not first of all to impart knowledge, but to open the boys' eyes and minds; to arouse interest, aspiration, and determination; to develop accuracy of observation and of judgment.[47]

Believing that the best personnel for the school could be found only by advertising widely, Morgan sent copies of this circular across the country.[48] After an exhaustive search, early in 1917 he selected Frank Slutz from Pueblo, Colorado, to be headmaster of the Moraine Park School. Slutz's previous experience was, according to Morgan, "in a line of work so nearly like our own that we do not feel that his efforts with us will be entirely experimental."[49] He not only believed in Morgan's plans but was very capable of implementing them. The selection of teachers for the school was also an important consideration. Arthur Hauck, who had been head of a high school in Idaho,[50] was hired at this time, along with a teacher from New York and another from Pennsylvania.[51]

The responses to the prospectus did not come only from applicants, however. Dr. Charles W. Eliot, the noted educator and former president of Harvard University,

*Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Lloyd Marcus, September 29, 1947. The greenhouse served all students in the beginning, but because of its distance from the city, students in the early grades were later taught at a school facility built right in Dayton; see Frank D. Slutz and Laura A. Gillmore, "Moraine Park School, An Educational Laboratory," **Progressive Education Bulletin** 5 (April 1921), p. 5.

received a copy of the prospectus from George H. Browne of the Browne and Nichols School in Boston.[52] Reading it, Eliot was very impressed with the proposed experimental school. He wrote to Morgan, asking him how he had acquired "the sound ideas of your circular."[53] Morgan's response reflected his personal experience with education:

> My ideas of education resulted largely with the impression I received while at school that the methods of teaching and of discipline were crude mechanical expedients, this having been particularly true in the school I attended. Since then I have taken notice from time to time of our educational methods, always with the hope that my own children might be more fortunate.[54]

From this initial correspondence developed an ongoing dialogue and friendship between the two men which continued until Eliot's death in 1926.

Another well-known and influential person who was impressed by Arthur Morgan's outline of the school was Ellery Sedgwick, editor of **The Atlantic Monthly**. Sedgwick wrote to Morgan:

> Your whole idea is so free from ancient prejudice and escapes so completely from all beclouding influences of technical school education that I think it would serve the cause of education in this country excellently if The Atlantic were to print a paper not, of course, upon your individual little school but upon the ideas which underlie it.[55]

This invitation not only provided Morgan with an opportunity to disseminate his educational ideas nationally,[56] but it led in later years to his being able to secure Ellery Sedgwick's help during the reorganization of Antioch.

While Arthur Morgan had provided the impetus for the Moraine Park School, he left it to Frank Slutz to take charge of its daily operation. The school consisted of two divisions. The junior division, kindergarten through grade six, utilized play and group activities extensively to teach cognitive skills and problem-solving, as well as general knowledge. The senior division included grades seven through twelve and emphasized practical skills as well as scholarly subjects. All students in the senior division participated in operating their own actual businesses. An example of this was the Moraine Bank, in which Arthur Morgan deposited some of his money; Morgan even left it to the students to pay his bills and take care of his accounts.[57]

Many new ideas and techniques were tried at the school. Students in the lower grades, for example, were allowed to visit any of the more advanced classes. As Slutz put it, "This opportunity to see what is beyond, to see what the big boys are doing, is a great lure and creator of interests."[58] Moraine Park also had a system of independent study, which allowed each student to work at his own pace, and a system of self-government with students elected to offices. Another innovation was the procedure of giving students school credit for part-time Saturday work with local merchants.[59] This may well have been a forerunner of Morgan's cooperative program at Antioch.*

The school's success was immediately evident. When it opened in the fall of 1917 there were approximately 60 students. Two years later, well over 200 students were enrolled and there was a long waiting list.[60] That the aims of the school were being realized is evident in a letter Frank Slutz wrote to Arthur Morgan at the beginning of the second year:

> The spirit and purposefulness of the boys in their beginning of school this year have been admirable. . . . It takes time for them to realize that the road is really open. It took our boys a year to realize this.[61]

*Although Morgan himself denied any association between Moraine Park and Antioch, he had long thought that work and school should be intertwined and had been aware of attempts to do so at the University of Cincinnati; see interview with Arthur E. Morgan by Ann Cornog, November 5, 1951, p. 2.

Morgan was also pleased with the results. In 1919 he wrote: "The general aims I outlined at the time the school was organized are being realized more fully than I had any expectation they would be."[62]

The Moraine Park School continued to operate until 1927. There were undoubtedly many reasons for its demise, but one reason may have been the fact that the Dayton public schools had improved to the point where the need for such a school had passed.[63] While it is debatable whether Moraine Park produced any lasting influence on the Dayton school system or education in general, it did have a profound impact on Arthur Morgan's educational philosophy, for it enabled him to try out many of his thoughts on the proper educational training for young people. One of the distinctive characteristics of the Moraine Park School was the emphasis which Arthur Morgan placed on the process of education. His early plans for educational systems called for the education of the total person and therefore ran counter to prevailing traditional educational theory in which education was conceived primarily as a series of courses. Morgan was more concerned with developing a concept of curriculum which combined academic and nonacademic pursuits.

Thus Moraine Park can be seen as a prime example of the progressive schools which had sprung up before 1920. Like many other progressive schools, it had a child-centered orientation and experimented with new ideas. The success of the school brought Arthur Morgan to the attention of many progressive educators, and upon the formation of the Progressive Education Association, he was elected its first official president in 1920.* During the 1920 convention of the P.E.A., which was held in Dayton, Morgan, Slutz, and Kettering all spoke about progressivism and the Moraine Park School. In his speech, Morgan summed up his aims for the school and education in general:

> Our aim has been not to take a system and fit the children to it, but rather to take the children and try to understand their needs and surround them with an environment that will enable them to fulfill their possibilities. I felt that when we started Moraine Park School it was theory and not practice. But that hope has been fulfilled in me beyond expectations. I have seen those children grow. I have seen their school life become a happy life to them instead of a miserable one, and my doubts have faded away. . . . I believe that just as it was necessary to use the past as a guide but not a master in the elementary schools, so it is desirable in dealing with college education.[64]

By this time Arthur Morgan was looking ahead to his next educational endeavor putting his ideas to work in a higher educational setting, namely Antioch College. In describing his plan for Antioch he wrote: "The end and aim of education . . . is so to equip a man in personality or 'spirit,' in mind and in body . . . that he will make the maximum possible contribution toward discovering and realizing the significance of existence."[65] To best achieve this, he felt higher education should be based upon a pattern of symmetry,[66] whereby a person would learn about a wide range of subjects instead of specializing in one narrow field. He felt "the educational policy of the future must be to see things [in the larger context] in proportion, and to master principles and policies to see the fundamental course of events, and to master that part of the technic of ordinary affairs that . . . is necessary for almost every man."[67] In this way students could better prepare themselves for the future. Yet at the same time that he believed in incorporating these aims into education, Morgan also felt that the students should be allowed the freedom to find these truths for themselves.[68] As he had at Moraine Park, he thought the best method was to provide the proper influence and let the students seek their own philosophies.

*Charles W. Eliot was elected honorary president the previous year.

Through the years, Arthur Morgan stated that the educational philosophy upon which he based his plan for Antioch came from ideas which had germinated as a result of his own experiences with traditional education. Chafing at the constraints this form of education posed, and feeling that he could learn much more from the world around him, Morgan developed his own plan for students to learn traditional subjects through nontraditional methods. Just as his ideas for Jacob's Pillow and Moraine Park School included students working in small business concerns and thereby learning the practical applications of such subjects as math, so too was his cooperative program at Antioch College (discussed in detail later) an attempt to provide a practical as well as theoretical learning system.

Arthur Morgan's educational philosophy cannot be said to have originated solely from within, however, for he sought, and received, a variety of ideas and opinions from others. Lucy Morgan provided him with a great deal of practical information relating to his plans and discussed with him literature on the subject. He also carried on correspondence with such educators as George Browne of the Browne and Nichols School and Charles Eliot of Harvard, expounding upon his ideas and soliciting theirs. He discussed the subject with people he worked with, like Frank Slutz and Charles Kettering of the Moraine Park School. All of these people helped to shape his ideas into a practical, workable program.

Yet some have charged that Morgan never gave these other individuals credit for originating ideas which he incorporated into his plans. One illustration of this was presented earlier in this chapter when Morgan responded to Eliot's inquiry about the origin of Moraine Park School. Morgan described how his ideas had developed from his childhood experiences and failed to mention his readings or Lucy's influence.[69] Various individuals have also pointed to Morgan's taking credit for the origination of cooperative education even though several other schools had such a system before Antioch. While these charges are not without foundation, at least in terms of cooperative education they are not entirely true. In later years Morgan did give credit to Herman Schneider of the University of Cincinnati for first implementing a cooperative program.[70] But in the early years of Antioch, he may very well have omitted any reference to Schneider in his discussions of Antioch's cooperative plan. One reason for this is quite obvious. One of Arthur Morgan's greatest abilities was being able to talk to others about his plans and to inspire them to assist in their implementation — a touch of the messianic, some might say.[71] First at Moraine Park School and later at Antioch, he interested people in the program and solicited help (usually financial) from them. In such a situation it would not be unusual to ignore the sources for one's ideas. What was important was to get people interested in the program, and a dry recounting of its background would not do it. It appears, therefore, that self-aggrandizement was not so much the motivation for Morgan's actions, or nonactions, as was the fact that he knew almost instinctively how to get others solidly behind him and help make his dreams a reality. How well Arthur Morgan succeeded in his efforts at Antioch is described in the following sections.

NOTES

[1]Ernest Morgan, letter to George C. Newman, June 25, 1977.

[2]Ernest Morgan, letter to George C. Newman, June 23, 1977.

[3]Interview with Clarence Leuba by George C. Newman, June 3, 1975.

[4]Interview with Algo Henderson by George C. Newman, July 17, 1975; interview with Ernest Morgan by George C. Newman, June 26, 1975.

[5]Antioch College Medical Department, "Annual Report of the Department of Health, 1928-29." (Microfilm.)

[6]One reason for this may have been that some of the results were not what Morgan had expected. For example, of the six students who graduated with honors in 1929 all were smokers.

[7]See Lucy G. Morgan, *Finding His World: The Story of Arthur E. Morgan* (Yellow Springs, O.: Kahoe & Co., 1928).

[8][Arthur E. Morgan], "Notes Concerning the Origin of Arthur E. Morgan's Interest in Antioch," January 17, 1945, p. 4.

[9]Arthur E. Morgan, *My World* (Yellow Springs, O.: Kahoe & Spieth, 1927), p. 7.

[10]Ibid., p. 44.

[11]Roy Talbert, "Beyond Pragmatism: The Story of Arthur E. Morgan" (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1973).

[12]Interview with Miriam Dickinson by George C. Newman, June 9, 1975.

[13]Morgan, *My World*, p. 8.

[14]Ibid., p. 99.

[15]Arthur E. Morgan, "Necessity," June 20, 1968, pp. 1-2.

[16]Morgan, "Notes Concerning the Origin," pp. 1-2.

[17]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Ray Hauserman, June 26, 1966.

[18]Lucy Morgan, *Finding His World*, p. 41.

[19]Ibid., p. 44.

[20]Ibid., p. 83.

[21]For further details, see *National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White Co., 1930), p. 192.

[22]Arthur E. Morgan, *Dams and Other Disasters: A Century of the Army Corps of Engineers in Civil Works*, with a Foreword by Paul H. Douglas (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1971), p. vii.

[23]Interview with John Dudley Dawson by George C. Newman, March 8, 1975.

[24]Arthur E. Morgan, *The Making of the TVA* (Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Boks, 1974), p. 51.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Lucy Morgan, *Finding His World*, p. 94.

[27]Ibid., p. 1; interview with Ernest Morgan by George C. Newman, June 26, 1975.

[28]Interview with Ernest Morgan by George C. Newman, June 26, 1975.

[29]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to James Dixon, August 11, 1962.

[30]Interview with Ernest Morgan by George C. Newman, June 26, 1975. Arthur Morgan himself had actually read Pestalozzi's book *Leonard and Gertrude* about 1900; see Talbert, "Beyond Pragmatism," p. 81.

[31]For a brief, but thorough, summary of this episode, see Ronald K. Clayton, *Arthur Ernest Morgan and the Development of an Adult Education Enterprise Within the Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933-1938* (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1975), pp. 15-18.

[32]Daniel Hawthorne, "Arthur Morgan's New Type of College," *World View*, February 1921, p. 405.

[33]Morgan's philosophy comes through in his book, *Dams and Other Disasters*.

[34]Hidinger became vice-president of the Dayton company, while Morgan became vice-president of the Memphis firm.

[35]Interview with Ernest Morgan by George C. Newman, June 26, 1975; Ernest Morgan, letter to George C. Newman, June 23, 1977.

[36]Interview with Ernest Morgan by George C. Newman, June 26, 1975.

[37]Miami Conservancy District, "Night Schools Started at the Camps," *Miami Conservancy Bulletin* 1 (November 1918), p. 57.

[38][Arthur E. Morgan], "Notes for Prospectives for a School at Jacob's Pillow, Mass.," ca. 1916.

[39]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Charles W. Eliot, September 27, 1916.

[40]Morgan, "Notes for Jacob's Pillow."

[41]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to J. E. Caldwell, December 18, 1918.

[42]Arthur E. Morgan, *A Compendium of Antioch Notes* (Yellow Springs, O.: Kahoe & Co., 1930), pp. 205-206.

[43]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Lloyd Marcus, September 29, 1947.

[44]In 1919, after the school had been in operation for two years, Morgan reported that tuition ranged from $25 to $2,500 per year; see Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Stanwood Cobb, July 7, 1919.

[45]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Lloyd Marcus, September 29, 1947.

[46]See, for example, Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964); Patricia A. Graham, *Progressive Education: From Arcady to Academe: A History of the Progressive Education Association, 1919-1955* (New York: Columbia University Teachers College Press, 1967); and "Significant Advances in Progressive Education During the Year 1919," *Association for the Advancement of Progressive Education Bulletin* 1 (January 1920), no pp.

[47]Graham, *Progressive Education;* Arthur E. Morgan, "An Outline of a Proposed Boys' School for Which a Headmaster or Teacher Is Being Sought," 1916, p. 3.

[48]Lucy Morgan, *Finding His World,* p. 99.

[49]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Herbert Blair, February 9, 1917.

[50]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Lloyd Marcus, September 29, 1947.

[51]Lucy Morgan, *Finding His World.*

[52]Charles W. Eliot, letter to George H. Browne, September 9, 1916.

[53]Charles W. Eliot, letter to Arthur E. Morgan, September 9, 1916.

[54]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Charles W. Eliot, September 27, 1916.

[55]Ellery Sedgwick, letter to Arthur E. Morgan, October 26, 1916.

[56]Morgan's first publication for *The Atlantic Monthly* was "Education: The Mastery of the Arts," *Atlantic Monthly* 121 (March 1918), pp. 337-346; many more articles in widely read magazines soon followed.

[57]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to T. J. Newbill, June 20, 1919.

[58]Frank Slutz, letter to A. E. Morgan, October 19, 1918.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Frank D. Slutz and Laura A. Gilmore, "Moraine Park School, An Educational Laboratory," *Progressive Education Association Bulletin* 5 (April 1921), pp. 2, 4.

[61]Frank Slutz, letter to A. E. Morgan, October 19, 1918.

[62]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Herbert Blair, February 9, 1917.

[63]Lucy Morgan, *Finding His World,* p. 99.

[64]Arthur E. Morgan, speech given at the annual convention of the Progressive Education Association, April 1920, pp. 5-6.

[65]Arthur E. Morgan, "The Plan for the New Antioch," December 1920, p. 1.

[66]Morgan, *Compendium,* p. 196.

[67]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to George H. Browne, April 13, 1918.

[68]Morgan, "New Antioch," p. 1.

[69]Ernest Morgan also mentioned that Lucy has never received sufficient credit for her contributions; see interview with Ernest Morgan by George C. Newman, June 26, 1975.

[70]Interview with Arthur E. Morgan by Ann Cornog, November 5, 1951, p. 2.

[71]Interview with Ernest Morgan by George C. Newman, June 26, 1975; interview with John Dudley Dawson by George C. Newman, March 8, 1975.

IV. THE MAN AND THE INSTITUTION: REORGANIZATION, 1919-1921

The record is not clear on how or why the Board of Trustees of Antioch College chose Arthur E. Morgan to be a member of the Board in June of 1919. One source indicates that the trustees were made aware of Morgan's potential as an educational reformer by former Harvard president Charles Eliot, on whose advice they acted.[1] Another refers to the efforts of the Unitarian Church to preserve the College's original endowment; this desire motivated the Board to pick Arthur Morgan, who was a Unitarian with national influence.[2] Nevertheless, Morgan himself recounted how he learned of his appointment:

> . . . on the street in Dayton one day in 1919 a friend told me he had noted in the paper that I was a trustee of Antioch College. This was news to me — in fact, I never received notice, either formal or informal, of being elected to the Board — but when another person gave me similar information I suggested to Mrs. Morgan that we drive over to Yellow Springs, I had never been there, and take a look at the place.[3]

Soon afterwards, Arthur and Lucy Morgan journeyed from their Dayton home to Yellow Springs, which at this time was a small, rural southern Ohio community of approximately 1,200 persons. Morgan later described the Yellow Springs of 1920 as follows: "It so completely educated and exported its intelligent young people that there was left a friendly, dull, conservative community, with scarcely a flicker of adventure or inquiry."[4] Dominated by political corruption and patronage — the town was considered to be a gambling center for the local area — little had been accomplished in the community to benefit the College or the town. In fact, there was no industry except farming, no public water supply or sewerage system, and only a few paved streets. The public school system was so inadequate it sometimes did not meet accrediting standards.[5]

Antioch College was considered to be the "little college" up the road, not directly tied to or influenced by the community. But Morgan's description of his first view of the College shows at least a physical affinity to the town:

> We found the 'main building' with its towers, two four-story brick dormitories and an old brick residence, the 'President's House,' on a campus of twenty acres. The buildings had no plumbing whatsoever, and no electric lighting except for a few wires here and there tacked on the surface of the walls. Each dormitory had sixteen large brick chimneys extending from the ground through four floors and through the roof. An antiquated and inadequate steam heating system served certain parts of the building. Three floors of one dormitory and two floors of the other were in a state of almost complete abandonment and disrepair. Neither the village nor the college had a water system except for rainwater cisterns and household pumps. Nearly all wells showed pollution.[6]

Although the College itself looked in disrepair, Morgan was impressed by the scenic panorama of the nearby woods and fields which bordered it on the east side. He soon decided that Antioch possessed important characteristics which he had looked for over the past years in his search to identify the appropriate area to found a school of his own. But by now he was in his early forties, and it seemed to him that it would be better and easier to modify an existing institution than to start from scratch.[7] As Lucy Morgan later recalled: "Arthur's verdict was, 'I believe it is near enough dead to start over in the form I dream of.' We decided to give up the idea of a school at Jacob's Pillow, and dedicated our lives to embodying our dreams at Antioch College."[8]

ON THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES, JUNE 1919-JUNE 1920

Arthur E. Morgan knew he needed the approval of the existing Board of Trustees to make Antioch into the kind of school he envisioned. At this time the Board was composed almost exclusively of men from the state of Ohio; in fact most lived in the communities surrounding Yellow Springs (see Appendix B, Table 1). Businessmen, ministers, attorneys, manufacturers, and educators were all represented on the Board, including three former presidents of Antioch — S. C. Derby, Simeon Fess, and George D. Black. Nearly half of the trustees had served over 10 years and one — J. Warren Keifer — was nearing 50 years as a trustee. Morgan, however, was not intimidated by their experience in education. Although he himself was lacking their background in higher education, he had the confidence in his own ideas which had resulted from the establishment of the Moraine Park School as well as from his leadership of the Miami Conservancy District. Furthermore, it was patently obvious to him, from his first observation of Antioch, that the College was desperately in need of new ideas for saving the school. This was confirmed in Morgan's early conversations with other trustees:

> During the succeeding weeks [after my appointment to the Board] I visited several Trustees, there were twenty, and asked them what were their future plans for the college. Judicious questions as to problems and details made them aware of the fact that they had no plans, and that the situation was approximately hopeless.[9]

At this point it became evident to Morgan that he could play a determining role in the destiny of the College and that because of Antioch's critical circumstances, the Board members would be receptive to his ideas for change sooner than traditionally would have been the case.

It was not too long before he made his first strategic move. On August 3, 1919, a special meeting of the Board of Trustees was held "for the purpose of considering plans for the future development of the college."[10] Morgan, after speaking about the difficulties of small colleges in general, proposed that Antioch reorganize along lines which would provide a more practical, work-study program. He assured the Board that "the plan proposed would in no sense lower the standard of education here required but would add to the efficiency of our graduates in all lines of future endeavor."[11] With Antioch foundering and with no new ideas of their own, the other Board members decided they had little to lose and gave Morgan authority to develop a plan for reorganization along the lines he proposed.

During the next year, Arthur Morgan consolidated his ideas for Antioch's reorganization while continuing his work on the Miami Conservancy District. Although the strain of these two massive jobs was great,* he continued to follow his policy of carefully examining the facts before developing a specific plan for Antioch. Very early in August he wrote for information concerning the standards of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools,[12] the major accrediting body for the area. Antioch at this time was not an accredited school, and Morgan felt it was necessary to know what accomplishments the College would have to achieve in order to gain accreditation. At about this same time, he also had a report prepared on the state of Antioch's physical facilities, itemizing what needed to be done in terms of renovations to the College.[13] Shortly thereafter he wrote Arthur Hauck at the Moraine Park School, suggesting that his arithmetic classes might want to calculate from "white

*In an interview with Ann Cornog on November 5, 1951, Morgan said of this time: "When I took on this [program at Antioch,] . . . the Miami Conservancy project was a [strain]. . . . I was tired. We had planned that I would take a year or two after it was completed to recuperate. But it was either do something or [the college] would die out. So . . . the jobs overlapped [p. 1]."

prints" the areas of the buildings' walls, floors, and ceilings so estimates of the refinishing and repainting could be made.[14] Such an exercise would provide a valuable practical lesson for the students as well as relieve Morgan of the chore.

There was also a need for further information on combining work experience with academic study. Although even in this early stage Morgan undoubtedly envisioned that the College would ultimately set up small industries of its own[15] — as he had dreamed of for Jacob's Pillow — he knew this was not immediately feasible.[16] Therefore, he needed to find out what the reaction of existing industries would be to his proposal. He later recalled, "As I explored the feasibility of the plan, I went around to employers — they would say they'd take so many [students] and so on, and I built [a group of jobs]."[17] As a result, during the 1919-1920 academic year, Morgan received promises of jobs for all of his students — even before these students were admitted or new faculty had been employed.[18]

While much of this contact with local industry was occurring, Arthur Morgan was diligently working on the specifics of the Antioch program. Of high priority was how the academic and cooperative education components would be combined. In early September of 1919, Morgan thought the work-study program would take the form of four hours a day in industry and four in school.[19] By December of that same year, however, he had revised this to "spending alternate fortnights in college work and in industrial occupations."[20] And by the end of the reorganization period, the plan called for students to alternate every five weeks between work and school.[21] This final modification was proposed by the dean of the College, Philip Nash, who had worked with five-week cooperative programs at Northeastern University.[22] That in the end it was not Morgan's idea but someone else's which prevailed is indicative of Arthur Morgan's style of leadership. While he worked hard to implement his own ideas, he nevertheless listened to and often acted upon the advice of others. He knew that the more opinions he could receive, the better the resulting product would be; as a result, he not only was open to, but actively sought, the criticisms and advice of others. Time and again throughout these early years, Morgan would correspond with a number of educators, seeking their reactions to, and suggestions for, his plans. He obviously felt it was worth the effort:

> The absence of serious mistakes [during the New Antioch's first year of operation] doubtless is due to the fact that the plans, during their preparation, were influenced by the counsel and criticism of many qualified educators in many different fields.[23]

Morgan's plans for the New Antioch did not consist merely of adding the cooperative program to the existing curriculum, however. He felt changes needed to be made in the academic program. By the beginning of 1920 he had decided, "with the assistance of two men here in Dayton, who have university teaching experience, and on whose judgment I rely a great deal,"* to limit the number of courses offered at Antioch, in total and within each subject area, and to supplement these course offerings with a system of "autonomous courses."[24] By limiting the number of subjects offered and the number of courses in each subject, Morgan believed fewer faculty would be needed and higher salaries could be paid,[25] thus hopefully attracting teachers of a higher caliber. As he envisioned it, the curriculum courses would survey the subject matter, providing students with an overall view of the world that Morgan felt was so essential in life. The autonomous courses would supplement this general knowledge by allowing small

*Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Members of the Executive Committee, Board of Trustees of Antioch College, January 3, 1920. These two men were probably Frank Slutz and Arthur Hauck from the Moraine Park School. Although neither appears to have had university teaching experience per se, they were undoubtedly more familiar with universities than Morgan himself.

groups of students, with the assistance of a faculty member, to arrange a program of study on a more specific topic. Thus, the autonomous courses would replace the usual upper-level courses in a specialization.

Having formulated in his own mind the general plan for the academic program, Morgan then wrote to over a hundred college authorities,* telling them of the proposed academic plan and asking them to provide him with an outline of a course or series of courses in their particular subject area.[26] These letters contained some of the first written descriptions of his plans for Antioch.[27] At the same time, he wrote to the members of the executive committee, with whom he had not met as yet to discuss the reorganization plans:

> Will you please . . . write me whether in your opinion it would be well to have a meeting of the committee before any further publicity is given to this suggested plan. About the next move is to present it to various educational authorities and to get their suggestions. We should not do this, however, until we are fairly well satisfied that this is what we want.[28]

It is unclear whether any meeting of the executive committee actually took place,[29] but apparently Morgan received their approval of his plan, for in February he was again writing to educators and others for their reactions to the feasibility of his ideas.[30] In one letter, he discussed the reactions he had received to date:

> On a few points in question we have sought the opinion of a large number of representative educators in various fields. As to a restricted curriculum we find almost an unanimously favorable opinion. A policy of fewer subjects and smaller faculty, with the emphasis on quality in personnel and in teaching, seems to be above serious criticism.
>
> There is more diversity on the subject of 'autonomous courses.' Perhaps a third of the 50 or more educators interviewed are unqualifiedly in favor of these courses, some taking the position that only in such a manner can initiative and independence be developed in the student. A few are unqualifiedly opposed to such courses, a few men in very responsible positions going so far as to say that the modern student will acquire only what he is driven to acquire. Perhaps some of those who express themselves take a middle position. They believe that the autonomous course should prove of deciding value but only in the case of students who have learned to study effectively and who naturally are of good quality.[31]

By the spring of 1920, Morgan had reached a point where he felt he needed the formal approval of the Board of Trustees. He wrote to the executive committee:

> In the development of plans for the reorganization of Antioch College we have come to the point, where, I believe, it is necessary for the board of trustees to take action in definitely adopting a reconstruction program. I do not feel at liberty to go further with the reconstruction plans until there is assurance that the program is in accordance with the board's desires.[32]

While this request for the Board's adoption of the reorganization program reflects Morgan's desire not to overstep his authorization, it is also indicative of his considerable skills in gathering the backing of others in order to accomplish his objectives. Ever mindful that he needed the support of the other trustees to carry out a successful reorganization, he made sure that the Board members were made to feel a part of the entire process. Although their actual contributions were probably minimal, the fact that Morgan turned to them for approval made his ideas seem less threatening.

*These individuals included Russell Sweet of the School of Business at Columbia University and Lincoln R. Gibbs of the Department of English at the University of Pittsburgh; see letters from them dated January 6, 1920, and January 10, 1920, respectively. See also, Arthur E. Morgan, letter to James Dixon, December 7, 1960.

On April 20, 1920, therefore, when the executive committee of the Board of Trustees met to reaffirm their support for Morgan's plans, they approved the following:

> College to be reorganized, remain coeducational, accommodate about 500 students, standards of admission and scholarship that of the best class of small colleges in the middle west. Entire college to be on cooperative plan, half time in school and half in industry or other financially profitable occupation. . . . The usual four years' academic work to be done in six years, depending on the student's ability, initiative, and application. . . . To develop all round competence and ability in a given calling rather than highly specialized technique.[33]

These were the general ideas Morgan had been struggling with for the past months. In addition, however, the committee approved some of the details of reorganization:

1. To raise $500,000 to $750,000 to prepare college for the work.
2. Suitable faculty, in addition to those of present faculty.
3. Repair buildings, in keeping with money raised.
4. Arrange with manufacturers and others for student employment.
5. Plan and construct water supply, plumbing, sewerage, heating, etc.[34]

It was apparent that Morgan's plans for reorganizing the College were swiftly becoming a reality. But the problem of finding a president still loomed. Morgan had originally intended to serve Antioch as he had Moraine Park School, providing the initial ideas and incentive and leaving someone else in charge of the actual operation of the school. But whereas this procedure was necessitated at Moraine Park because of his total involvement with the Miami Conservancy District, at Antioch a more overriding issue (since his work with the Conservancy District was nearing an end) was the fact that Morgan did not feel he had the educational credentials to be a college president. So he spent the greater part of a year searching for a man who was not only academically qualified but who would "be interested and qualified to work creatively with the overall plan for reorganization."[35] The new president would be the leader of this endeavor:

> Our aim has been to give only general direction to our plans. The most we can hope to do is to furnish a favorable environment where the right man as president can do his life's work; and then, having secured such a man, to give him full support and no hindrance.[36]

But finding the right man was difficult. As Morgan later recalled, "Several good prospects were found, but not one of them would be interested in so forlorn a situation. Therefore, in 1920 I asked the Board to appoint me president."[37] So on July 6, 1920, at Arthur E. Morgan's own request, the Board of Trustees unanimously elected him president of Antioch College.[38]

PROCESS OF REORGANIZATION, JULY 1920-JUNE 1921

Although now technically president of the college, Arthur Morgan continued to reside in Dayton, and "[f]or a year . . . the new Antioch College consisted of a half-time stenographer in an engineer's office."[39] Morgan felt that, in order to properly establish the reorganization plan at the College, it would take a year for him to select the appropriate faculty and other personnel and in general prepare the College for an anticipated enrollment of 200 students in the fall of 1921. Morgan proposed that Antioch be closed for the upcoming school year to save money, but the Board of Trustees vetoed this idea, saying that it was important to preserve continuity.[40] Adam Schantz, a wealthy Dayton industrialist, agreed to pay the monthly bills; however,

when he died early in 1921 this support was abruptly terminated.[41] So for the 1920-1921 school year, William Dawson, who had previously been acting president, became acting dean of the College and maintained the operation at Yellow Springs with the funds available.[42]

Upon becoming president, Morgan maintained his position on the Board of Trustees,* but one of his first major efforts was to bring in new members. He had long been aware that this was necessary, for during the previous winter he had written:

> The college is controlled by a board of twenty trustees who hold office for life. One of our first jobs will be to get the resignation of half a dozen of these men who take only a casual interest in the work and replace them with the type of men who will make the institution go.[43]

He knew that in order to effect change within the College and implement his plan of reorganization, he would need men of similar motivation as well as individuals who would be able to assist in the financial development of the College.

Three weeks before Morgan assumed the presidency, three trustees had resigned. In two of the cases it is not known whether Morgan had anything to do with their resignations, either directly or indirectly;[44] the third trustee was reported to have resigned because he was moving to California.[45] Most assuredly, however, Morgan was involved in the selection of their successors, for two were his old friends from the Moraine Park School — Frank Slutz and Charles Kettering.[46] Later, at the time of Morgan's election, three more trustees resigned. Again, the reason for two of the resignations is unknown. The third trustee, Simeon Fess, claimed he was resigning because his work in Congress prevented him from attending meetings.[47] Since Fess had been in Congress for years, however, the stimulus for his resignation may well have been a statement by Morgan (or someone else) that all trustees would have to take an active role on the Board in order for the reorganization to succeed. In any case, the new trustees included another Moraine Park founder, William A. Chryst, and Gordon Rentschler, director of the Miami Conservancy District.

Thus, by the time Arthur E. Morgan began his presidency the Board of Trustees already included many of his friends from Dayton. These men were not chosen merely for the financial support they could give Antioch, however. In fact, Colonel Edward A. Deeds, a wealthy industrialist and one of the men who helped found the Moraine Park School, offered to become a trustee. Morgan refused him because he thought Deeds' personality was too strong for the Board.[48] Clearly, Morgan wanted trustees who would support his ideas and leave him free to run the College as he wished.

During the summer of 1920, as Arthur Morgan began contacting individuals and foundations who might be of help to Antioch, he became increasingly aware that he would not get much financial support from other parts of the country if he did not work to make Antioch more nationally representative and well-known. Upon the suggestion of the Board, Morgan began to solicit individuals from the East to serve on the Board of Trustees.[49] On September 24, 1920, he sent the trustees a list of six men who would be willing to be a trustee if elected. Included on this list were the five who would be elected to the Board the following month:

> Mr. Jerome Green for years President Elliot's [sic] right hand man at Harvard, then secretary of the General Education Board, and now member of the firm of Lee Higginson, Co.
>
> Mr. Edward F. Gay, formerly Dean of the Harvard School of Business Administration, and now manager of the New York Evening Post. . . .

*This was not unusual at Antioch, for earlier presidents had often served as president of the Board of Trustees. See R[obert] L. Straker, "Notes on Antioch History, 1903-1920," Antioch College, 1953.

> Mr. Henry S. Dennison, President of the Dennison Manufacturing Company of Boston.
>
> Mr. Ellery Sedgewick [sic], editor of the Atlantic Monthly.
>
> Last spring after our last meeting, Mr. Wm. Mayo, Chief Engineer in Mr. Henry Ford's organization agreed to join our Board if we would elect him.[50]

Of these five, the first four were not only prominent eastern businessmen but graduates of Harvard.[51] Morgan went on to state:

> I believe that it would not be possible to find a group of men in New York or Boston who are held in higher repute or whose judgment in educational administration would be worth more. I think, that with their addition to our Board, we can go before the country with the assurance that our program will command attention.[52]

The trustees were pleased with this list, and as a result, several offered their resignations to make room for these new men. One, trustee F. C. Caldwell, wrote Morgan:

> My congratulations upon the group of men whom you have interested in Antioch. . . .
>
> While it would be a pleasure and a privalege [sic] to serve you and such men in building up the College, I feel sure that if my retirement from the Board is needed in order to make possible the addition of all the men whom you have selected, I can best serve the College by resigning.[53]

Others needed a gentle nudge by Morgan, as evidenced by the resignation letter of Perry M. Stewart:

> My Dear Prof. Miller [trustee J. Peery Miller] — I am just in receipts of a letter from Mr. Morgan suggesting that inasmuch as my absence will prevent my attendance at any of the meetings of the Board for some time, that I send you my resignation . . . .[54]

When on October 19, 1920, the Board of Trustees accepted the resignations of five trustees (Caldwell's was not among them) and replaced them with five men from Morgan's list, it brought the total of new trustees since Arthur Morgan first joined the Board to twelve (see Appendix B, Table 2, for the complete list). For the first time since the days of Horace Mann, the Board would have a more national cast. Even more important, however, was the fact that these new trustees for the most part were influential men who could help Morgan carry out his plans. Their association with Antioch would enhance its reputation, hopefully bringing both money and a higher caliber of students and faculty to the College. This, Morgan felt, was essential to Antioch's success.

The most immediate and crucial problem facing the College was finances, and Morgan had definite ideas on how to acquire a sufficient financial base for Antioch to implement its programs. As early as January of 1920, even before he became president, he stated:

> The college now has an insufficient endowment. The committee[55] does not recommend a campaign to increase that fund. The financial plan we propose is that the original cost of the college plant, including extensions, repairs and equipment be met by contributions from friends of the college, but that teachers' salaries and all costs of maintenance and operation be met by the tuition of the students. The only exception to this rule would be the inevitable loss during the initial organization, just as would be the case in the industrial plant.[56]

Morgan wanted Antioch to be as self-sufficient as possible, thereby avoiding the

endowment stipulations and power struggles characteristic of the College's early history. In order to maintain academic freedom, gifts of money were to be accepted only if they were without stipulations, and loans from various trustees were scheduled to be paid back.[57]

Although in April of 1920 the Board had officially recommended that $500,000-$750,000 be raised for the reorganization,[58] by October of that year Morgan had revised this estimate. He presented the Board with figures showing that he would need a minimum of $335,000 ("With only this much to start with the development would be handicapped, but would be possible and feasible"), but "to start the new program in a thoroughly satisfactory manner" he would need $900,000.[59] Morgan figured that one third of the money would come from educational foundations, one third from the Ohio cities and towns surrounding Antioch, and the remainder from contributors in other parts of the country.[60] Unfortunately, he was not to receive the backing from the foundations he had anticipated. As he later recalled:

> At that time the Rockefeller organization, 'The General Education Board,' was 'dean' or dictator of educational philanthropy. When I visited its President and Secretary to ask help for Antioch, they broke out in loud laughter. 'Antioch!' the Secretary shouted. 'Antioch has been a derelict on the educational ocean for a generation.' They assured me that it was hopeless.[61]

It was Morgan's belief that over the next years potential contributors who sought the General Education Board's advice were dissuaded from supporting Antioch.[62]

With the foundations unwilling to provide much help, it was necessary to find new sources of funding and then to convince these individuals, groups, and organizations to come forward with donations, gifts, or grants to the College. Morgan's plan for doing this was two-pronged. One aspect was to publicize the plans for the New Antioch. Immediately after he became president, Morgan wrote to William Dawson, the acting dean: "I am already getting [a] considerable amount of mail as some publicity is being given to our new plan."[63] By September, Morgan informed the College:

> In the near future we are going to have a large amount of publicity about Antioch College. I expect an article to appear in the 'World's Work' describing our new plans. . . . A great number of other magazines are having articles.[64]

This proved to be true, as over the next two years more than a dozen articles were written about the New Antioch in such well-known journals as **New Republic, School and Society, Nation,** and **Scientific American.** Most of these were written by Morgan himself. Once, having promised to help Ida Tarbell write some articles on Antioch for the **New York Evening Post,** he asked a woman writer in Yellow Springs if she could "write so nearly like Ida Tarbell that she will sign her name to your articles" and enclosed his ideas for what they should include.[65] Morgan often exercised editorial control as well, commenting on or criticizing rough drafts of articles sent to him by the publishers[66] and thereby ensuring that the Antioch plan was presented to the public correctly. Morgan felt that gaining publicity such as this was essential because "it is only in that way that we can get the support we need in the way of students, faculty and financial assistance."[67]

Another aspect of Morgan's fund-raising plan was the network of information which he set up through his correspondence. Almost everyone to whom he wrote was asked for names of prospective faculty, students, or financial backers. In writing to a publisher about a forthcoming article on Antioch, Morgan suggested that its readers (mainly engineers) could help Antioch by suggesting suitable faculty and students, informing the College of types of industries which might locate in Yellow Springs, and

critiquing the Antioch plan.[68] When a New Yorker — Charles P. Howland — wrote to ask how he could help, Morgan responded with a list of influential persons living in New York whom he would like to meet through him.[69] Howland did as he was requested, and later Morgan wrote him to ask for other names of persons who might be likely to provide financial support.[70] He even asked former students — in a form letter soliciting financial help — to "send us the names of all the persons who were in any way affiliated with your class, whether or not they graduated."[71]

By the beginning of 1921 Morgan was planning a financial campaign for several Ohio cities, including Dayton, Cincinnati, Columbus, and Cleveland. While for the most part he had been working almost singlehandedly on the reorganization,[72] he felt he needed a campaign manager to handle the accounts during the campaign and to set up an accounting system for the College.[73] But although he had several prospects,[74] he was apparently unable to find anyone by the time of the spring campaign.[75] Nevertheless, utilizing fund-raising devices such as "teams,"[76] the Ohio campaign got under way May 11, 1921. The newspapers reported that the first day's pledges totaled $59,360, including a $30,000 gift from Charles Kettering.[77] During this week-long campaign the president of National Cash Register, J. H. Patterson, donated $10,000,[78] and by May 18 contribution pledges were announced at over $75,000.[79]

Overall, Morgan's financial campaign was not as successful as he had originally hoped. As the operating budget for the 1920-1921 year showed (see Appendix B, Table 3), the reorganization campaign netted only a little more than $58,000 by mid-June. A month later, in July of 1921, Morgan described Antioch's financial status as follows:

> We have received cash subscriptions of somewhat more than $100,000 with more coming as soon as economic conditions are slightly easier. . . . Three of our trustees have agreed to finance the remainder of our program until July 19, 1922, the estimated requirement beyond our estimated income being $140,000.[80]

This financial situation was a foreshadowing of what was to come in the next few years: "Over and over again I would not know where next month's salaries would come from."[81] Indefatigable in his money-raising attempts, Morgan spent a great deal of time away from the College. Yet his efforts paid off. For example, the proposed budget for a later academic year, 1924-1925, shows expenditures exceeding income by $77,850. This deficit would, Morgan anticipated, be met in the following way:[82]

In bank	$15,000
Pledges	15,000
Mr. Thum [a major donor to the college]	10,000
Contributions from personal solicitation	38,000
	$78,000

Thus $63,000, or 80 percent of the deficit, would be covered by contributions directly or indirectly resulting from Arthur E. Morgan's efforts.

A further indication of Morgan's fund-raising ability is the fact that over 40 individuals, corporations, and foundations contributed more than $5,000 to Antioch during Morgan's tenure as president (see Appendix B, Table 4). These donors came from all over the United States. Although some were current or former trustees of Antioch, a number of others were presidents of major businesses. Antioch's cooperative program was undoubtedly a major factor in the willingness of these businessmen to contribute to Antioch. As the president of the National Cash Register Company wrote to Morgan in 1911:

> I am heartily in favor of the Antioch idea.
>
> Your plan of education is sound, and I can see that a great amount of good will come to the industries in the Miami Valley through the working out of

the Antioch Plan.[83]

This same company donated over $10,000 to the college during the Morgan years.[84] Other companies, while not expecting to receive any direct benefits from Antioch's new plan for education, nevertheless believed the cooperative system would benefit business as a whole by providing college graduates already possessing skills and work experience.

Arthur Morgan's considerable skills in convincing prospective donors of this benefit to the business world should not be underestimated. Because of his unique background as a successful engineer and businessman, he was able to talk to these people in their own language. He was not an ivory-tower educator asking them for money, but one of their own kind. Seeing this energetic man and hearing him explain fervently his ambitions for Antioch, they could not help but believe that he would indeed accomplish his goals.

Morgan set for himself an ambitious program when he and the Board of Trustees elected to de-emphasize endowments in favor of direct contributions. Not able to devote himself full-time to fund-raising or to delegate much of this duty to others, he depended on loans to supplement the income from donations. These loans came from a variety of institutions and individuals (see Appendix B, Table 5). While many of the loans came from banks, nearly one third of the $300,000 borrowed came from trustee Charles Kettering. Another $50,000 was loaned to the College by the Dayton Malleable Iron Company, whose president was Antioch trustee John Haswell. Thus the members of the Board of Trustees were not only donors of money but an important source of loans to the College. But they did not give money or loans to Antioch carte blanche. As Morgan later said, "During the first three years, Mr. C. F. Kettering loaned the college $300,000. Then he withdrew for six years, not wanting to be the chief cause of its survival."[85]

Despite the continued uncertainty of Antioch's financial situation, Arthur Morgan plunged boldly into making the New Antioch a reality. One of his first priorities was the renovation of the College. In addition to installing a sewage disposal plant and water supply, extensive work needed to be done on the buildings. In Morgan's proposed budget for 1921-1922, he itemized what the work on the main building, men's dormitory, and women's dormitory would entail:

Removal of old chimneys, floors, partitions, wiring etc. where necessary
New plumbing
New heating system and chimney
New electric wiring
Fireproof stairways
Finish alcoves
New flooring
New doors, frames, etc.
New windows
New finish of partitions
Repairing roof and gutters
Painting
Fixing cellars.[86]

Plans were immediately made to begin the renovations, and a press release was issued to the newspapers to this effect.[87] Thus the public would know that there would be a new, or at least remodelled, physical plant in addition to the new curriculum. When the work was not completed by the time school began in the fall of 1921 (and it was probably not expected to be done), students were enlisted to help. As one student later wrote about that first year:

> The campus, more dangerous to cross than a minefield, was criss-crossed with great trenches, ready for the laying of pipes, and this work, as I recall, was being done by the students.[88]

Most likely, workmen were hired to oversee the work and do the more difficult things, while the students helped where less skill was required.

The cost of these renovations was expected to total over $135,000.[89] In addition, by early 1921 Morgan was endeavoring to buy two additional plots of land for the College. One tract of land was 180 acres adjoining the College — now called Glen Helen — while the other was 16 acres near the College where Morgan planned to build faculty residences.[90] In July of 1921 he reported that the 180 acres had been purchased, with the rest to be bought for the College by a trustee. In order to acquire the other tract of land, however, it was necessary for Morgan to buy it with his own money.[91]

With all of these expenditures, it is no wonder that in the early years of the New Antioch operating expenditures greatly exceeded operating income (see Appendix B, Table 6). Morgan knew that the cautious approach would not turn Antioch around and save it from extinction. Immediate changes needed to be made in order to attract high-caliber faculty and students as well as prospective donors. So Morgan set about to make these changes, counting on being able to finance them through various contributions and loans. Knowing a great deal of his time would be spent raising money, he wrote his friend Charles W. Eliot in June of 1921:

> I do not fear a failure of the financial campaign, but I do fear that I shall have to give so much of my time to it that I shall not be able to spend very much time in giving the initial direction to our college program.[92]

While this proved to be partially true, Arthur E. Morgan was still able to put a considerable amount of time and effort into developing the curriculum and finding faculty and students for the New Antioch.

NOTES

[1]Interview with Arthur E. Morgan by Maury Waters, June 6, 1951.

[2]Statement by F. C. Caldwell in *Samuel Carroll Derby: A Memorial* (Columbus, O.: Ohio State University, 1923), p. 16.

[3][Arthur E. Morgan], "Notes Concerning the Origin of Arthur E. Morgan's Interest in Antioch," January 17, 1945.

[4]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Willard Johnson, March 24, 1965. See also, interview with Griscom Morgan by George C. Newman, July 10, 1975.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Morgan, "Notes Concerning the Origin," p. 11. See also, Antioch College, "Report on Antioch College Buildings," September 15, 1919.

[7]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Ray Hauserman, June 27, 1966.

[8]Lucy G. Morgan, *Finding His World: The Story of Arthur E. Morgan* (Yellow Springs, O.: Kahoe & Co., 1928), p. 100.

[9]Morgan, "Notes Concerning the Origin," p. 12.

[10]R[obert] L. Straker, "Notes on Antioch History, 1903-1920," Antioch College, 1953, p. 380.

[11]Ibid.

[12]W. A. Payne, letter to Arthur E. Morgan, August 5, 1919.

[13]Antioch College, "Buildings."

[14]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Arthur A. Hauck, October 24, 1919.

[15]Interview with Arthur E. Morgan by Ann Cornog, November 5, 1951, p. 2.

[16]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Walter Lipmann, January 8, 1920.

[17]Interview with Arthur E. Morgan by Ann Cornog, November 5, 1951, p. 5.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to J. E. Caldwell, September 9, 1919.

[20]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Francis C. Caldwell, December 4, 1919.

[21]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Leon Ciechomski, April 14, 1921.

[22]Interview with Arthur E. Morgan by Maury Waters, May 28, 1951.

[23]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Homer Corry, May 19, 1922.

[24]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Francis C. Caldwell, December 4, 1919.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Members of the Executive Committee, Board of Trustees of Antioch College, January 3, 1920.

[27]Interview with Arthur E. Morgan by Ann Cornog, November 5, 1951, p. 1.

[28]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Members of the Executive Committee, Board of Trustees of Antioch College, January 3, 1920.

[29]Robert L. Straker, in "Notes, 1903-1920," records no meetings until April 20, 1920; however, it is possible an informal meeting did occur.

[30]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Edward D. Jones, February 4, 1920; Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Allan T Burns, February 6, 1920; Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Sanford Morison, February 16, 1920.

[31]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Edward D. Jones, February 4, 1920.

[32]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Members of the Executive Committee, Board of Trustees of Antioch College, April 13, 1920.

[33]Straker, "Notes, 1903-1920," p. 33.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Walter Kahoe, *Arthur Morgan: A Biography and Memoir* (Moylan, Pa.: Whimsie Press, 1977), p. 54.

[36]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Edward D. Jones, February 4, 1920.

[37]Morgan, "Notes Concerning the Origin," p. 12.

[38]Straker, "Notes, 1903-1920," p. 385.

[39]Ida M. Tarbell, "Morgan of Antioch: An Engineer's Great Contribution to the Training of Useful Americans," *Colliers*, June 3, 1922, p. 20.

[40]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to T. Howard Winters, March 25, 1921.

[41]Morgan, "Notes Concerning the Origin," p. 13.

[42]Straker, "Notes, 1903-1920," p. 385.

[43]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to J. Russel Smith, February 26, 1920.

[44]There appears to be no written record of why these men resigned.

[45]See Straker, "Notes, 1903-1920," p. 384.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Ibid., p. 385.

[48]Interview with Ernest Morgan, by George C. Newman, June 26, 1975.

[49]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Members of the Board of Trustees, September 24, 1920.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Charles W. Eliot, "Antioch College," *School and Society* 18 (July 14, 1923), p. 36.

[52]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Members of the Board of Trustees, September 24, 1920.

[53]F[rancis] C. Caldwell, letter to Arthur Morgan, October 3, 1920.

[54]P. M. Stewart, letter to J. P. Miller, October 6, 1920. Stewart was living in California at the time.

[55]Reference here is to the Board's reorganization committee, but the document itself bears only Morgan's initials.

[56]Arthur E. Morgan, "A Plan of Reconstruction for Antioch College," January 1920.

[57]In 1943 Antioch celebrated the repayment of all its loans from the Morgan years.

[58]Straker, "Notes, 1903-1920," p. 383.

[59]Antioch College, Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Antioch College, October 19, 1920. See also, Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Philip Bennett, October 3, 1920.

[60]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Philip Bennett, October 3, 1920.

[61]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Willard Johnson, March 24, 1965.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to William M. Dawson, July 9, 1920.

[64]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Bessie E. Totten, September 22, 1920.

[65]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Mrs. S. V. Cox, January 6, 1921. See also Arthur E. Morgan, letter to E. J. Mehren, December 28, 1920.

[66]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to E. J. Mehren, December 28, 1920.

[67]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Rufus B. Smith, April 28, 1921.

[68]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to E. J. Mehren, December 28, 1920.

[69]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Charles P. Howland, December 4, 1920.

[70]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Charles P. Howland, May 11, 1921.

[71]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to former students, July 2, 1921.

[72]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Rufus B. Smith, April 28, 1921.

[73]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to J. O. McKinsey, March 12, 1921.

[74]Ibid.; Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Alfred C. Estes, January 21, 1921.

[75]J. O. McKinsey, letter to Arthur E. Morgan, March 29, 1921.

[76]"Teams Named in Campaign for Antioch," *Dayton Sun News*, May 8, 1921.

[77]"$39,360 Given Antioch First Campaign Day," *Dayton Daily News*, May 11, 1921.

[78]*Dayton Daily News*, May 18, 1921.

[79]*Dayton Herald*, May 18, 1921.

[80]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to James R. Angell, July 15, 1921.

[81]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Willard Johnson, March 24, 1965.

[82]Antioch College, "Budget 1924-25," presented to the Board of Trustees June 5, 1924.

[83]J. H. Patterson, letter to Arthur E. Morgan, May 16, 1921.

[84]See Appendix B, Table 4.

[85]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Willard Johnson, March 24, 1965.

[86]Antioch College, "Budget to July 1, 1922," June 2, 1921, p. 10.

[87]Antioch College Publicity Department, "Remodeling of Old Antioch Already Under Way," June 6, 1921.

[88]Gerard Willem Van Loon, *The Story of Hendrik Willem Van Loon* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1972), p. 126.

[89]Antioch College, "Budget to July 1, 1922," p. 10.

[90]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to James R. Angell, July 15, 1921.

[91]Ibid.

[92]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Charles W. Eliot, June 2, 1921.

V. THE NEW ANTIOCH, 1921-1925

Before the New Antioch could open its doors in the fall of 1921, Arthur E. Morgan had three major tasks to complete: the development of the new curriculum, the selection and hiring of new faculty, and the admission of new students. The first two took place somewhat concurrently (and concurrent with Morgan's fund-raising efforts as well), with curriculum development initially the most crucial factor, for it was upon this foundation that Antioch's entire future hinged.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

During the summer and fall of 1920, Morgan gave a great deal of thought to the new educational program he wanted to implement at Antioch. Much of his thinking on curriculum — the purposes of a curriculum and the values generated from it, as well as the arrangement of courses — was based on concepts which were part of his personal philosophy of life. He believed, for example, that it was important to develop the entire person and that people needed realistic educational goals which would prepare them to act independently in life. This attitude was reflected in the Antioch Plan. In a retrospective look at the Morgan years, two Antioch faculty members wrote:

> [Antioch College] had been unique in insisting that students regard life as whole and that the task of the college consists in providing opportunity for the symmetrical growth and development of every aspect of a student's personality. . . .
>
> Education at Antioch is considered a dynamic force. It is not how much a student knows that is considered important, although that should not be minimized, but rather how that knowledge affects his living. The integration of knowledge into a living philosophy is the important thing; the formation of a temper of life in each and every activity is more significant than familiarity with the philosophy of Plato or the mathematics of Einstein.[1]

This idea of symmetry was a key factor in Morgan's plans for Antioch's educational program. He believed fervently that in order to develop the whole person it was necessary to provide the student with a wide range of knowledge.[2] Education should not be limited to one subject area but should encompass a great range of subjects, zeroing in on the universalities of human life.[3] Furthermore, he felt education should not be limited to academic learning from books but should also include learning from real-life experiences. Education and society were thus interrelated in the Morgan model. As he put it:

> If American education can give general currency to the finest things in the world's cultural inheritance; and can instill habits of intellectual growth and the temper of aspiration, of great expectation, of critical and open-minded inquiry, and of adventure — these qualities will continue to enlarge the lives of men and to bear fruit long after our railroads have rusted away and our factories are obsolete.[4]

From the beginning, therefore, it was this viewpoint on education that directed the path Morgan was to take in setting up a curriculum.

During his first year as president, Arthur Morgan had prepared a small report entitled "The Plan for the New Antioch." In it he had outlined the principal goals of the College: the organization of a cooperative system, self-support for the College, the development of a well-rounded student, the development of cultural education and vocational curriculums, maintenance of a physical education program, and a spirit of moral enthusiasm and social service.[5] Morgan envisioned these aims being served by three basic models: the cooperative education program, the academic curriculum, and

the plan for small industries. (The third model, small industries, did not come into being until several years after the other two.)

One of the most unusual and significant features of the Antioch Plan, as described by Arthur E. Morgan to the Board of Trustees in 1919, was the formation of a program of cooperative education. Although he has often been cited as the originator of the cooperative system of education, this distinction actually goes to Dean Herman Schneider of the College of Engineering and Commerce at the University of Cincinnati.[6] In addition, three other colleges — Northeastern University in Boston, Berea College in Kentucky, and Drexel Institute in Philadelphia — had implemented such programs prior to Antioch.[7] But what made Morgan's plan unique was the fact that the other schools had established cooperative education only in connection with vocational or professional programs, while Antioch was the first college to implement the cooperative model in connection with a liberal arts curriculum.

Arthur Morgan undoubtedly was aware of Schneider's efforts when he proposed the cooperative model for the New Antioch, but his decision to start such a program appears to have been based more upon his own educational philosophy and experiences.[8] During his engineering work, he had become convinced that most college graduates were not being trained to understand the significant issues and problems of the work process and that many possessed a great amount of technical and specialized information but were restricted by the narrowness of their training. They could not conceive of the totality of a situation and were unable to see or appreciate the interrelatedness of one situation to another. This had bothered Morgan for some time, and over the years he became skeptical of traditional educational systems. Thus when he had the opportunity to design his own system, he evolved a program whereby students would not only learn academic subjects but would gain knowledge from working in the real world:

> By combining work and study we can make the experiences of these years cover a fairly complete cross section of life, so that the student is getting a sense of the texture of himself and of the world, and is developing effective reactions, at the same time that he is acquiring college culture and technic.[9]

While traditional colleges stressed academic knowledge to the exclusion of the practical, and technical or vocational schools stressed the opposite, at Antioch, students would be able to combine the best of both worlds.

In formulating a working blueprint for the cooperative program, Morgan decided Antioch's faculty and physical facilities could be utilized most effectively by dividing the student body into two divisions, A and B. While division A students were in classes, division B students would be working on their jobs. Every five weeks during the 40-week school year, these roles would be reversed. In addition, two students — one from each division — could hold down a single job, thereby providing employers with continuous help. This continuity, Morgan knew, would be a selling point for the program when prospective employers were contacted.

Morgan intended Antioch's cooperative program to be more than just vocational training combined with academic learning, however. He felt other schools, even those with cooperative programs, trained men and women to be workers, not leaders; to follow instructions, not to give them; to work under supervision, not to supervise. "Antioch," he stated early in 1921, "will train primarily for proprietorship and management, not for subordinate employment."[10] At the heart of the cooperative model, therefore, was Arthur Morgan's belief that the College should foster leadership skills and prepare students to assume, at some time in their lives, positions of leadership in a variety of business, educational, and professional settings. In this regard he said:

There are two ways of arriving at the position of administrative head of an

> important institution. One is by 'starting at the bottom' of that or a similar institution. . . . The other . . . is by going over the top; by beginning as a small self-directing unit . . . or by growing up with an organization. . . . The Antioch program aims to prepare for the latter method of progression, by preparing a selected group of students through part time study combined with part time work in which initiative and self-reliance are necessary. . . . There are definite advantages in this method of approaching administrative responsibility. Progress from the start depends upon the use and growth of individuality, whereas 'starting at the bottom' in a big organization frequently puts a premium on conformity.[11]

The concept of leadership was prominent throughout the curriculum, but particularly in the area of cooperative education. Morgan felt students should learn both human relations and leadership skills so that after completion of their studies they would be able to assume positions of responsibility in the world at large. But whether the students established themselves in a particular trade or learned the total parameters of a particular industry was not as important as that they learned to integrate academic learning and vocational skills.

Another major concept behind Arthur E. Morgan's use of the cooperative plan was the idea that students would have a tangible means of defraying their educational costs. Morgan felt that one of the prime obstacles which had prevented many people from attending college was a lack of finances and the inability of institutions to secure funds for students. The cooperative program was, therefore, a way for bright but impoverished students to earn enough money to pay for at least part of their expenses. In developing his cooperative model Morgan calculated how much money a student could expect to receive from his or her cooperative experience. In February of 1923, for example, the Antioch College **Bulletin** contained the information that a freshman student could expect a yearly income of approximately $350 while a senior student's earnings should total $700. Typical expenses outlined in the bulletin listed a low of $676 and a high of $1,112, and every new incoming student was urged to enter College with $300 available to cover initial or unusual costs.[12] But Antioch was not intended to be merely a school for poor students. As Morgan emphasized from the beginning:

> The possibility of self support should be plainly indicated, but we want an institution so valuable on account of the opportunity for combined work and study, and for its training in administration that it will attract the highest grade of students regardless of their financial condition.[13]

The cooperative program attempted to provide meaningful experiences for female as well as male students. While Morgan to some extent was a product of the attitudes of his day, he thought any student, male, or female, could work on any assignment designated as an appropriate learning experience:

> The pattern of women's education of the early 20th century was pretty definite; it tended to lead away from love and family. . . . Experience in industry where economy of time and means were recognized — would be valuable. If a woman had that type of experience — she would be a better homemaker. For this reason [that homemaking was the usual pursuit of women], the plan might be most largely useful and productive for men, but it should be no less appropriate to women's education.[14]

Morgan also believed that some women would want cooperative jobs "in industries which have an educational value in the direction of home keeping,"[15] and he sought to provide such opportunities. Thus he left it to each woman to determine the type of work experience that would be of most value to her.

During the reorganization years (1919-1921) Arthur E. Morgan worked almost

single-handedly to make the cooperative program operational. This consisted primarily of finding prospective employers in the surrounding communities, a major undertaking since the nearby Dayton-Springfield area was estimated to have over 500 industries employing about 75,000 people.[16] As it turned out, however, his fortunes in this venture were dependent upon the economic conditions of the time:

> In 1919 industry was going pretty strong and before I had my faculty employed or students picked I had all students placed and promises for all the jobs I needed. . . .
>
> [Shortly after,] in 1920 and 1921, industries which had been eager to take our students were trying to keep out of bankruptcy. For example, as I had talked initially with Robbins and Myers in Springfield, they said they had orders for five years ahead, and opened several jobs for students. In the following months cancellations of orders began coming. They had been certain that they could use our students. But the next year they were near bankruptcy and had no openings. . . .
>
> A constant drive was necessary. We worked very hard, took on most any kind of work we could get.[17]

By 1923, however, a variety of different organizations and institutions had chosen to aid and play a role in the Antioch cooperative experience. Not only were students placed in business and industry, but societal and governmental agencies, local schools and hospitals, and even Antioch itself provided jobs for students. The 1923 Antioch College **Bulletin** listed the following professions as available for students to pursue during the cooperative session:[18]

Accounting	Library Work
Advertising	Lumbering
Agriculture	Machine Assembly
Animal Husbandry	Medical and Anatomical Work
Architecture	Nursery
Art	Office Management
Automobile Manufacture	Personnel Administration
Building Trades	Printing
Contracting	Publishing
Education	Railroad
Engineering	Research
Factory Work	Selling
Home Economics	Steel and Foundry Business
Horticulture	Stenographer
Insurance	Wholesale and Retail
Journalism	Businesses

The cooperative plan was an important component of the Antioch educational plan, but Morgan believed it should not supplant the students' traditional academic training. Thus the two models were set up to interact with each other:

> No young person will be able to graduate from one of the vocational courses at Antioch unless in addition to his vocational training he has secured the fundamentals of a liberal education which enables him to have an intelligent view of his place in society and of his inheritance of wisdom and culture from the past.[19]

This integration of traditional education and vocational training resulted in the establishment of a six-year program at Antioch instead of the usual four in order for students to gain the requisite knowledge and skills in both areas.

Arthur E. Morgan did not have as much direct contact with various academic

curricula as he had with the business world, but the experience he did have led him to form definite ideas of what a curriculum should accomplish. To him it should represent a broad encompassing series of disciplines, with each discipline being composed of specific courses and objectives representing the fundamental theories, facts, and information relevant to the area of study. This framework constituted what Morgan generally referred to as the universals of education:

> There is a minimum educational equipment which it is desirable for nearly everyone of college caliber to require; not that people should be alike, but that they should alike be free from ignorance, incompetence, and commonplaceness. . . .
>
> Antioch introduces no new principle in requiring a wider range of study and experience than most colleges, as a foundation for specialization. It simply is raising the standard of this minimum equipment. The last century saw an enormous increase of knowledge, much of it so significant for the interpretation and conduct of life that its possession should be universal. Antioch undertakes to reappraise the universals of human concern and to present them in proportion to their relative importance and to their need for organized channels of dissemination.[20]

At Antioch, students would have access to a broad curriculum which covered the humanities, the physical sciences, the social sciences, art and music. Although Morgan's commitments to these disciplines varied to some degree — he tended to favor the sciences and the social sciences over the arts and humanities — he nevertheless believed a student should be exposed to all areas of learning. This included not only cultural education courses but also physical education. He felt students should be required to take more than one year of physical education and that intramurals should be an integral part of the College. However, he stated:

> We do not intend that athletics shall dominate our college interests as is the case with some institutions, but it would be an equally serious mistake to give it less than its rightful place.[21]

After a series of discussions at Antioch over whether to continue to offer various athletic programs, intercollegiate athletics were dispensed with in favor of a comprehensive intramural program. As one former student explained, it was difficult to field a football team when just as it was prepared to play a game, the original team had to be replaced by a group of new students returning from a cooperative assignment.[22]

The philosophical basis of the courses themselves is articulated in the various reorganization documents which Morgan prepared during the 1919-1920 period. One such document stated it well:

1. They should to the fullest possible extent, represent an essential contribution to public education in America. . . .
2. They should be courses which gain rather than lose by being offered at a small college . . . .
3. They should belong to a single general class, so as to contain the greatest practicable proportion of common factors, . . . while to the fullest possible extent retaining value for persons of widely varying aims.
4. They should be courses which will profit to the fullest extent by the peculiar location or policies of the college, the pertinent factor in this case being the policy of alternation of work and study . . . .
5. It is an aim of the Antioch program to develop a spirit of responsible

citizenship. . . .

6. They should be courses, the training for which will have the widest possible usefulness and application . . . training for ability to be self-directing, and/or ability to administer industrial, professional or commercial enterprises.[23]

With this in mind, Morgan then set about accomplishing these objectives. Counter to what he believed to be the traditional pattern at many small colleges of offering 200-300 courses, Morgan felt the students and the College could best be served by initially offering only 75-80 courses.[24] In this way the quality of the courses would be improved and, in addition, the costs to the College would be decreased. By late 1920, he had tentatively decided that the courses in the Antioch curriculum should be divided into the following areas:[25]

English, 8
Classical languages, 6
Modern languages, 8
Mathematics and mechanics, 12
Physics, 6
Chemistry, 6
Geology, 6
Biology, 2
Psychology and education, 8
History, 8
Economics, 6
Sociology, 6

As this list shows, the Antioch curriculum was influenced greatly by the engineering and scientific training of Arthur E. Morgan. He believed that science and mathematics were important subjects for all students, and as a result these subjects were heavily emphasized in the curriculum.

A few months later Morgan had settled upon how the basic curriculum should be structured. Each student, he felt, should be required to take courses in a broad range of subjects, thereby providing him or her with a knowledge of the world in general. As of February 1921, these courses, and the number required, consisted of the following:[26]

English 4
Mathematics 2
Physics and Chemistry 4
Biology 4
Social Sciences 4
Philosophy and Psychology 4
Physical Education 4
A general course with the aim of giving the student an idea of the aims and objections [sic] of education and of the college 2
Earth Science 2

It is interesting to note that this curriculum of courses, intended to develop in the students an identification of their own individual philosophies, was quite rigidly structured, and at a time when the concepts of required courses and narrowly defined curricula were being abandoned for the elective system espoused by Charles W. Eliot. This is indicative of how Arthur Morgan exercised judgment in many of his decisions. Although he sought the knowledge and advice of colleagues, he often followed his own beliefs. In this instance, he took a position directly opposite that of a man whom he knew and admired. But he had carefully thought out what he wanted to do and believed that he was right. He later recalled: "When Charles W. Eliot criticized my plans for Antioch because of the element of required courses in our general education program, I told him I considered it necessary to compel students into freedom."[27]

At Antioch the required courses became structured as a series of building blocks, (see Appendix B, Table 7*). Only after the first tier of courses were completed would students have the knowledge needed for the second tier of courses, and so on. Biology, for instance, could be taken by the student only after chemistry, for biology was taught with a scientific base. Philosophy was the capstone course in the student's program, to be taken only in the sixth year, for Morgan hoped that by going through the Antioch program each student would develop his own life philosophy.[28] It was only in later years, after the bulk of the required program had been completed, that students could begin to specialize in an area of interest:

> To make the experiences of life intelligible is only one of the objects which makes desirable a general view of the whole field, as a forerunner of specialization in any particular line.[29]

At the beginning of 1921, Morgan began preparing for the implementation of the curriculum. He had yet to select the faculty for the fall and, given the uncertainty of when they would be hired, he felt it was essential to work out the details of the curriculum — what areas of knowledge would be covered in the various courses — in order to ensure that the New Antioch would begin with the teaching of the new curriculum and yet not overwhelm the new faculty members with the monumental task of creating a totally new course in a matter of weeks. Morgan knew, however, that he alone would not be able to work out all the details for the Antioch curriculum, partly because he himself did not have the college training and partly because it would have required a great deal more time and effort than he had available.

So with a general framework in mind, Morgan gathered around him an advisory committee of educational experts. The committee initially included Dr. Charles R. Mann from the U.S. Army; James Harvey Robinson, the historian; Dr. Frank Addylotte, head of the department of English at Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and Philip Nash, who had already been hired by Morgan to be Dean of the College but had not yet assumed his duties at Antioch.[30] Other experts who would soon join were Joseph H. Willits of the Wharton School of Commerce; Isaiah Bowman of the American Geographical Society; Henry C. Metcalf, Director of the Bureau of Personnel Administration of New York; and E. G. Conklin of Princeton University, a noted biologist.[31] The committee's first meeting was held in New York City during the week of January 10, 1921.[32] Its main objective was to take the significant ideas of the Morgan philosophy of curriculum and develop detailed course outlines for the various disciplines. The outlines were to serve as guidelines and suggestions for the faculty members who would actually teach these courses.[33]

It is evident from his correspondence that Morgan personally played a key role in the development of these outlines. In letters written to committee members and others during this period, Morgan presented his ideas for these courses in detail. English classes, he said, should not consist of formal composition and analysis of writing style but instead should stress the reading of great works of literature.** English composition, on the other hand, could best be taught by having reports written for

*Although Table 7 in Appendix B depicts the required courses as of 1926, the required course totals are almost exactly the same as those proposedson February of 1921. The only differences by 1926 were the addition of two business courses and changing the name "earth sciences" to "geology."

Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Charles Gott, March 7, 1921; Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Theodore M. Pease, March 15, 1921. This idea of a "great books" approach had its origin many years previously. Lucy Morgan, in **Finding His World, recounts how Morgan, while living in Colorado in 1899, "decided that the miners and woodcutters would read good books if they could get them. So he bought about fifty thirty-cent copies of Ruskin, Carlyle, Goethe, Emerson and Kipling, and started with a young friend to peddle them in a cart. They went down towards Trinidad, starting in October and getting back in January. . . . He read them all but sold none [p. 52]."

other classes evaluated by the English faculty as well.[34] This interdisciplinary approach to curriculum was evident in other areas too. Earth science, for instance, was envisioned by Morgan to be a general foundation course covering astronomy, geology, paleontology, and geography.[35] It was soon evident that this course was too complex to adequately develop by the fall of 1921, however, and Morgan postponed its inclusion in the curriculum until the 1922-1923 academic year.[36]

The social science course was also a composite of several disciplines and was originally intended to "pick up the story wherever the Earth Science courses would leave off."[37] Its aim was to "use the data of history and geography as a sort of laboratory in economics and history [and] to encourage the student to find his place in the social order with the background of history, economics, social philosophy and the data of geography as his guides."[38] Morgan saw the course as consisting of three hours of recitation and six hours of study per week over a period of two years. He thought additional reading should be assigned, but warned against overloading the student, saying, "we want the total sum of the minimum requirements in all subjects to be well within the capacity of a reasonably good student."[39] In the early stages of the course's development, Morgan also toyed with the idea that the course consist of a series of outside guest lecturers, each discussing their particular field of interest. He felt this would "give the student a range of outlook that no one person possibly could give, while the regular professor could tie the whole together into a unity."[40]

At the first meeting of the advisory committee, James Harvey Robinson agreed to prepare an outline for the social science course within this framework. Although Morgan valued his ideas for the course, he was afraid that Robinson would not have time to write the outline until it was too late to make it operational for the fall. So within a couple of weeks of that meeting, Morgan was in the process of hiring John Storck, a student doing postgraduate work at Columbia, to work with Robinson in preparing the outline.[41] And a short time later he asked one of the other committee members, Isaiah Bowman, to help as well.[42]

In the letter acknowledging Storck's acceptance of the position, Morgan gave a further description of what he wanted the social science course to accomplish.[43] He felt the student should obtain a "general idea of the field so that his reading and experiences hereafter will be made intelligent." He should "get acquainted with the manner in which a trained mind thinks, and the way in which [one] approaches and analyzes a problem" as well as "learn to find sources of information." In specific disciplines like history, he wanted a student to see the field "not as a succession of events but as a record of forces at work." In addition, social science information should promote the individual value of the information and illustrate principles and forces as well. The course should motivate one to seek a greater knowledge of the subject. Lastly, he felt the student should take away from a social science sequence a knowledge of the most important principles and facts in a given field.

As can be seen, Arthur E. Morgan functioned primarily as a master planner in the early development of the curriculum. He provided the framework, elucidating his ideas on both the content of the courses and the structure of the curriculum. Yet for all of his involvement, Morgan generally offered philosophical ideas rather than concrete suggestions for the courses. He knew what the objectives of the courses should be and how they should fit into the total learning experience of the student, but he relied on others — notably the advisory committee and later the faculty — to make his ideas workable. Part of the reason for this may have been Morgan's lack of experience in higher education as well as lack of time as president of Antioch, but he was also shrewd enough to know that the academic curriculum had a better chance of success if put together by persons experienced in education. The course outlines, for example, would be more easily accepted by the faculty if they were formulated by notable people in education rather than a non-college-educated engineer. And, indeed, the incoming faculty tried to implement the course outlines to the best of their abilities.*

*While there is no written documentation to support this conclusion, Morgan's curriculum was implemented basically as he had outlined it.

PEOPLING THE NEW ANTIOCH

In making preparations for the New Antioch, Arthur E. Morgan realized that because his plan represented a significant shift in higher education, its success depended upon finding faculty and administrators who were intelligent and creative and who would thrive in a nontraditional (but highly prescribed) environment. Morgan felt from the outset that he might encounter difficulties in his search:

> We are going to have all kinds of trouble getting Antioch going in the new direction, but greatest of all these troubles is that of finding 15 college teachers in the United States who are alertly and sanely original, and to whom tradition is a counselor and not a tyrant.[44]

In his search for faculty members, Morgan turned first to Antioch's existing faculty, which by the 1919-1920 academic year had dwindled to approximately 11.[45] In March of 1921, he requested an analysis of the current 1920-1921 faculty by the Department of Public Instruction for the State of Ohio. The results were singularly unexciting. T. Howard Winters, who made the evaluation, reported about one faculty member: ". . . I have the impression that she has never learned to make the college mathematics interesting and practical and to draw out the students' originality in it as she has done in the high school mathematics."[46] About another he commented: "He seemed to know his subjects but I do not think he had much method about his teaching."[47] The teaching methods of others, however, were characterized as "interesting" and "especially fine."

Morgan did not automatically exclude the existing faculty from consideration as a result of this report, however. Each person was judged on his or her own merits. In a letter expressing his interest in remaining at Antioch, William Dawson, who was acting dean of the College in 1920-1921, described his duties to Morgan:

> . . . when Dr. Weston left [1920 sabbatical] and the trustees asked me to become acting head of Antioch, I taught General Psychology, Educational Psychology, etc. and made other provisions for the history. I have been teaching this year [1920-1921] one class in English, one in German, General Psychology, Child Psychology and Ethics.[48]

That Dawson, of necessity perhaps, was spreading himself too thin is evident from the evaluation report mentioned earlier. Winters' comment was this:

> Professor Dawson's manner in the classroom as always was pleasing and his plan of work interesting. He has been somewhat unfortunate I think in being compelled to spread his preparation over too many different lines and as a result does not seem to have thoroughly wrought plans for making certain different ends. . . .[49]

In addition to this evaluation, Arthur Morgan received a great deal of negative information about Dawson which stressed that he was not a capable administrator or teacher but rather a troublemaker.[50] Instead of relying entirely on the opinions of others, Morgan had a lengthy interview with Dawson. He became convinced that this man's teaching skills would fit into his plans for Antioch, and William Dawson was therefore retained; he remained on the faculty until his death in 1925.

Besides Dawson, only three other faculty members were retained by the New Antioch. These persons were Stephen Weston in philosophy, Charles Nosker in biology, and Estelle Clark in English. And by the mid-1920's, Charles Nosker was the sole faculty member remaining from the pre-Morgan era. He continued at Antioch until his death in 1938.

Through the late fall of 1920 and early part of 1921, Morgan canvassed much of the country in search of suitable faculty. He knew that finding the right type of individual required looking in places other than in educational institutions which trained college personnel. "We have got an original job which must be done in an original way," he

said, "and doing it the way the other fellow did will not get us anywhere."[51] As he had done while seeking personnel for the Moraine Park School, Morgan searched nationwide for faculty. He solicited suggestions for personnel from a wide variety of people. Having acquired a number of business, engineering, and educational contacts from his pre-Antioch days as well as from his early fund-raising efforts for the College, he soon had the names of many possible candidates. In addition, a number of potential candidates wrote to him and expressed interest in his plans and in Antioch. As a result, much of Morgan's time during the reorganization period was spent in the selection of faculty and administrators.

The screening process generally had several stages. Morgan first solicited intensive evaluations of candidates from previous employers or people who would know the strengths and weaknesses of a potential candidate. Having spent years selecting skilled individuals for his engineering enterprises, he knew what qualities he wanted in an employee. A checksheet used for prospective faculty in the early 1920's (see Appendix B, Table 8*) illustrates Morgan's belief that the New Antioch's future success depended on the character and native intelligence of its personnel rather than merely on degrees and amount of education. In addition, he wanted individuals who believed in the Antioch concept and who were committed to its development: "I think that I would be inclined to sacrifice a little in the way of individual brilliancy for the sake of having men and women who can pull together for a common aim."[52] After receiving the references of the candidates, Morgan then conducted personal interviews with the most promising ones, either on the Antioch campus or during his travels, before a final employment decision was made. Most of this selection process was conducted by Morgan himself; in only a few instances did he have others do the interviewing for him.

Much of Morgan's early recruiting was concentrated on individuals from major eastern schools. In writing to one Yale professor, he said: "So far we have no Yale man on our list of active prospects; Harvard being represented more heavily than any other school. For that reason I would like to get the Yale point of view somewhere in the faculty."[53] He was also making a concerted effort to identify women with leadership skills to teach as well as assist in the administration of the College;[54] these women were to be primarily in such areas as home economics and the nursery school. A number of the individuals solicited for faculty positions did not accept, but the story of their recruitment is a significant one in understanding the hiring process at Antioch and the ideals Morgan had for the composition of the Antioch faculty.

Arthur E. Morgan wanted to have at least some well-known and influential people on his faculty in order to advance Antioch's prestige nationally. No man was perhaps more well-known in education at this time than John Dewey. After several persons had suggested that Dewey be considered as a faculty member, Morgan began recruiting him. Dewey was working in Peking, China, at the time and Morgan wrote him there. In his letter, Morgan outlined the correlations between Dewey's philosophy of education and the expected outcomes of Antioch's reorganization:

> . . . if you would be associated with us in the new Antioch College . . . the aims of our institution and the personality of the faculty would be after your own heart, and . . . you would without qualifications find yourself among friends.[55]

To help sway Dewey, Morgan at the same time asked several major eastern educators — Charles W. Eliot of Harvard; Ellery Sedgwick, editor of the **Atlantic Monthly**; Jerome D. Greene of the Rockefeller Foundation; and Edwin F. Gay, formerly of the

*Morgan used this "balance sheet" when seeking information from references for various faculty members. See Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Hamilton Holt, April 18, 1921; Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Franklin McVey, April 25, 1921; and Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Katharine C. Reiley, April 27, 1921.

Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration (the latter three had recently been appointed trustees of Antioch) — to write him as well.[56] Although agreeing to do so, Charles Eliot told Morgan he should not be too hasty in attempting to hire Dewey, hinting that at sixty-one he might not be as effective as he once was or that his style might not be adaptable to the Antioch Plan.[57] Morgan replied that "it would be very well for Antioch College to have Dr. Dewey with us."[58] But although Dewey was initially interested, he decided not to join the faculty, presumably over the issue of salary.

It should not be thought, however, that Arthur E. Morgan offered low salaries to his faculty and administrators. On the contrary, he raised salaries significantly from what they had been at Antioch. Salaries budgeted for representative faculty during the 1921-1923 academic years (see Appendix B, Table 9) compare favorably with available figures for faculty of state university and colleges, which show that the average salaries for 1921-1922 were $4,250 for deans, $3,392 for professors, $2,800 for associate professors, $2,300 for assistant professors, and $1,800 for instructors.[59] In addition, Morgan's own salary was well above the 1920-1921 average of $7,524,[60] undoubtedly a reflection of the salary structure in the business world where the president's services are well-paid. Offering good salaries is another indication of Morgan's utilization of his keen business sense in academia. He knew that top people would not be lured to far-away Antioch merely by his persuasive abilities; salaries had to be competitive as well. And except for John Dewey and other illustrious educators, whose salary demands were apparently far beyond Antioch's means, the amount of remuneration was generally not an issue in the acquisition of faculty.

Another individual whom Morgan tried to bring to Antioch was Dewey's daughter Evelyn. Upon hearing through James Harvey Robinson that she was looking for a new position,[61] Morgan contacted her. She had been trained in early childhood studies, and he wanted her to be in charge of a nursery school for the children of faculty and townspeople — the first of its kind in the state of Ohio.[62] Evelyn Dewey did not take the job, however, and the nursery school idea languished until the second half of the 1920's.

A third important educator of the time whom Morgan endeavored to bring to Antioch was C. Hanford Henderson, a leading proponent of progressive education. Morgan was inspired by his writings and considered him to be "one of the finest spirits among the American Educators."[63] Henderson was interested in Antioch's program but was hesitant because of health problems. In a letter responding to this problem, Morgan gave an indication of the broad viewpoint he held regarding the contributions faculty could make and the flexibility he was willing to allow for them to do so. Morgan suggested that because of his health, Henderson arrange to spend the worst winter months — from mid-December to mid-March — in the South and instead spend the upcoming (1921) summer at Antioch helping to outline the education courses.[64] Even with such modifications Morgan felt Henderson could be of help to Antioch:

> If one's teaching consists of imparting information then the number of hours spent is a matter of vital importance. If, however, this contribution is one of spirit and outlook, then the time spent is of less importance. An occasional contact may result in almost as great value as a routine program.[65]

Henderson, however, also decided not to come to Antioch.

Despite these setbacks, Arthur E. Morgan succeeded in obtaining 28 individuals for the 1921-1922 faculty and administrative positions. They were men and women of diverse educational backgrounds (see Appendix B, Table 10). Fully one-third of the faculty, including Morgan himself, had no formal degrees, reflecting Morgan's interest in making Antioch into a practical, not merely academic, institution. Of those who did

have degrees, one was from a foreign institution, three from western schools, and seven from midwestern colleges and universities. The remaining eight had graduated from first-rate eastern schools, including three from Harvard and two from Yale. While such prestigious backgrounds enhanced Antioch's reputation, Morgan felt that degrees should be underplayed on campus. He insisted that everyone be called Mr. (or Miss or Mrs.) instead of Dr. or Professor, believing that since everyone from the janitorial and clerical staff to the faculty and the president played an important role in the little community called Antioch, everyone should be recognized equally.* It was actions such as this which undoubtedly contributed to the great sense of unity which existed in the early years of the New Antioch.

The initial faculty included some already familiar names. J. Warren Keifer, the long-time trustee who had been replaced by the Morgan appointees, was given the title of Professor Emeritus of History. Arthur Hauck, whom Morgan had hired as a teacher for the Moraine Park School, was added to the faculty as Associate Dean and Professor of Education. And Frank Slutz, headmaster of the Moraine Park School, was made a part-time lecturer on education.

Perhaps one of the most illustrious of the new faculty members, however, was Hendrik Willem Van Loon. A rising young author of historical books which was geared to the general public and which were unique in combining the author's cartoon-like illustrations with a very readable writing style, Van Loon's only previous experience at college teaching had been as a lecturer of history at Cornell in 1915-1916. He had been immensely popular among the students, but when all of his students flunked the tests required by the history department, he was not asked back for a second year.[66] Nevertheless, it is easy to see why Morgan wanted Van Loon to come to Antioch. Here was a man who could bring history to life for the students and who promised to be a creative faculty member. In offering him the position as head of the social science department, Morgan acknowledged that Van Loon might be more comfortable with the teaching tasks than with administrative responsibilities. He pointed out, however, that it was not possible to have someone else do the administrative work at that time.** Despite this, Van Loon came to Antioch and again captivated the students. As one of the students in his class wrote:

> . . . quite a sight he was. . . . I can still see this huge Dutchman standing in front of his class, wearing a smock (the first ever seen in Ohio), a monocle (most certainly the first ever seen), white cotton gardener's gloves, a box of crayons in his left hand while, with his right, he illustrated on an enormous pad the subject of his lecture. And this was not wisdom tossed on the empty air. No student ever cut one of his classes voluntarily.[67]

Van Loon brought a creative new method of teaching to the campus, but he did not have Morgan's sense of purpose for the Antioch Plan. In fact, one of the primary reasons for Van Loon's interest in the Antioch offer was actually the opportunity to receive a regular salary once again.[68] That Morgan, who was a keen judge of character, did not know this (or chose to discount it) may well have been due to the lesser role he played in Van Loon's hiring. Van Loon was initially approached about the position by

*In later years Morgan became even more interested in the concept of community, writing a biography of Edward Bellamy whose look at utopia included the idea of equality for all. See Arthur E. Morgan, **Nowhere Was Somewhere: How History Makes Utopias and How Utopias Make History** (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946); Arthur E. Morgan, **The Philosophy of Edward Bellamy** (Morningside Heights, N.Y.: King's Crown Press, 1945); and Arthur E. Morgan, **The Small Community, Foundation of Democratic Life: What It Is and How to Achieve It** (New York: Harper & Bros., 1942).

**Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Hendrik W. Van Loon, May 31, 1921. In this letter, Morgan did say that if necessary the administrative responsibilities could possibly be shifted to someone else in the future.

two of Antioch's eastern trustees — Edwin F. Gaye and Jerome D. Greene — although Morgan and Van Loon did correspond by letter and did meet in New York.

As it turned out, Van Loon remained at Antioch for less than a year. His book, **The Story of Mankind**, was rapidly becoming a national sensation, and in March of 1922 Van Loon abruptly headed back to New York, leaving a note on the bulletin board for his students which read:

> I do not believe in long good-byes when good friends part. We have, I hope, each learned a great deal from the other during the time we have spent together. And now it is time to say farewell. So accept this with the affectionate regards of Hendrik Willem Van Loon.[69]

Such an impulsive action was not unusual for Van Loon. Although he obviously enjoyed teaching (he relished having an audience), he was also an opportunist and was not averse to shifting gears immediately when something better came along. On reading that note, however, "the entire student body went on strike in protest at his departure."[70] It is not known whether Morgan felt the same way or whether he accepted Van Loon's departure as being the best for the school. Van Loon's prestige had certainly heightened the College's reputation, but his lack of total commitment to Morgan's plans for Antioch (as evidenced by his abrupt departure) more than likely produced in Morgan a feeling that someone else could better serve his needs.

For the most part, however, faculty members were hired not so much for the prestige they would bring to Antioch as for what they could contribute to the College. Since most of the departments consisted of one faculty member, Morgan needed persons who had the ability and initiative to develop the courses in their area according to the goals of the New Antioch. He was not always successful in this, however. In later years Morgan recounted an example of one such failure:

> I had an exceptionally good man in chemistry and another exceptionally good man in physics. I suggested that the two of them work out a course in matter and energy, not for the professional chemists and physicists, but for the general intelligent person, and which would be an introduction to the field of physical sciences. I suggested the name for this would be "matter and energy." What I got out of it was that the physicist tried to crowd a conventional year of physics into that course, while the chemist tried to crowd in a conventional year of chemistry. They did not go through that extremely difficult process of trying to select those concepts and facts, those elements of nomenclature, those elements of experience which, reduced in total effort to what was a normal year's work, would be the optimum of an introduction.[71]

It was Morgan's belief that such inabilities on the part of the faculty to change from the traditional methods of teaching a subject were due to "unconsciously acquired cultural patterns which tend to dominate."[72] Thus, although the faculty members were generally enthusiastic about Morgan's plans, these new unconventional ideas often could not prevail against the years of traditional educational thinking. Yet while tradition versus new ideas is certainly a facet of the problem Morgan encountered, there is also the factor of perception. Morgan knew in his own mind how he wanted the course to be structured and tried to convey this to the physics and chemistry teachers. They, in turn, took what Morgan said and tried to implement the course as they thought he wanted it. Since every individual perceives things in a different way, it is not unusual that Morgan would feel they had not done what he asked while they would feel they had.

During the early years of the New Antioch, however, Morgan's dissatisfaction with the efforts of the faculty was not evident. There was so much to be done that Morgan did not oversee closely the work of the faculty. He did meet with faculty members

individually and presided over faculty meetings when he was on campus, but the bulk of the day-to-day communications with the faculty were handled by the Dean of the College, Philip Nash. During the first year, many of the faculty meetings were chaired by Nash, and individual faculty consulted with him about a wide range of issues from student discipline and scholarship to the scheduling of specific courses.

Philip Nash, who assumed his duties in the spring of 1921, had been educated at Harvard. Like Morgan, much of his experience had been outside the field of education and associated with engineering pursuits. Before assuming his duties at Antioch, Nash had worked for five years as a civil engineer with the Boston Transit Commission, while his most recent experience prior to joining Antioch had been as a Professor of Civil Engineering at Northeastern College in Boston. While at Northeastern, Nash had had some experience and connection with the institution's cooperative education program.

This combination of educational and practical experience was exactly what Morgan wanted in his chief assistant. He found in Nash an individual who possessed the analytical, management, and organizational skills needed to implement Antioch's programs. His main responsibilities were following through on many functions which were initiated by Arthur Morgan. For example, Morgan coordinated, corresponded with, and, for the most part, screened prospective faculty members with the assistance of some members of the Board of Trustees or influential educators throughout the nation who were knowledgeable of Morgan's plans for Antioch. However, once an individual had been identified and the preliminary investigations by Morgan had proven that individual would make a good addition to the Antioch faculty, Philip Nash was brought in to coordinate the necessary paper work and scheduling required to bring the new faculty member to the College.

To a great degree, Nash was the opposite of Arthur Morgan in terms of educational philosophy and attitude. This is not to imply, however, that he was not committed to the Antioch Plan and its philosophy. But while Morgan was oriented toward the conceptualization of ideas, Nash was a tenacious operations-oriented individual who, once given the outline of an assignment by Morgan, was able to implement it. Nash also meticulously kept Morgan informed of issues and trends developing at the college. Although Morgan appreciated Nash's efforts and relied on him a great deal, from time to time he became somewhat irritated with Nash's inability to perceive the larger perspective of the New Antioch philosophy.*

One area that Nash did not spend a great deal of time on was cooperative education. In his organizational plans for the New Antioch, Morgan placed the coordination of the cooperative plan under the direction of the newly formed Personnel Department. He realized that while he could perhaps initiate the early contacts with employers himself, in order for a successful and well-organized system to emerge he would need someone to handle the cooperative program. Therefore, in the spring of 1921, Morgan chose Horace Gardner to be the new Director of Personnel Administration. Gardner was a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and he had also been manager of personnel relations with E. I. DuPont de Nemours and Company as well as employment manager for another eastern firm. Thus he appeared to Morgan to possess the proper combination of practical work experience and theoretical training.

During the 1921-1922 school year, Horace Gardner worked diligently to assemble the details of the Antioch system and make the cooperative system a success. At the end

*Interview with John Dudley Dawson, March 8, 1975. Nash remained an important management link for Arthur Morgan until 1929, when Morgan engineered Nash's departure to become Director of the League of Nations Association in New York. In the 1930's Nash returned to higher education as president of the University of Toledo, a post he held until his death in 1947.

of the year, however, he resigned to go back into industry. This may have been prompted by the fact that once he had worked within the Antioch system, he became disillusioned with his progress; or he may merely have seen greater opportunities back in industry. In any case, the next year Morgan appointed a new Director, Stanley Mathewson, whose background was similar to Gardner's in that he possessed a technological degree and extensive personnel management experience. He was apparently more successful than his predecessor. From 1923 until Mathewson's death in 1928, the Department of Personnel Administration grew from one person to a unit composed of seven people

Finding students for the New Antioch was not nearly as difficult as finding faculty had been. At the beginning of the fall term, 1921, over 200 students were enrolled. All had been selected personally by Arthur Morgan.* The selection was based upon biographical sketches written by the students, in which they also explained why they wanted to attend Antioch and in what ways they thought Antioch could help them, and also upon personal interviews which Morgan is said to have conducted with each of them.[73] Morgan again broke with tradition by not emphasizing test scores. He felt it was more important to find the kind of student who would gain the most from his Antioch experience. This attitude is vividly portrayed in Morgan's description of two applicants:

> For instance, . . . two typical applications were considered. A student was rejected who was a son of an American professional man, and who ranked in the top five percent of a graduating class of 170 in a first class high school. He would have been accepted at Harvard on his academic record without examination. He was rejected . . . because while intellectually brilliant, his whole life as indicated by the application, was slovenly, selfish and lacking in purpose or aspiration. He had read nothing worth while, had done nothing worth while, and had no discontent about it.
>
> The other applicant, accepted at the same time, was a farmer boy — quite below our Antioch average in intellectual alertness, but with marked compensating qualities. Order and purpose were everywhere in evidence. His references wrote that while in high school he had largely paid off a mortgage on his father's farm by raising and selling blooded stock. He had determined to be admitted to Antioch, and evidently had spent considerable time in making a neat, concise, complete and ordered presentation of his case. Other information indicated that his application was representative of his personality. He seemed to have moral and spiritual purpose.
>
> These are doubtless extreme cases, but they are representative of distinctions which we can make, but which would be difficult with only the data furnished by standard college entrance examinations.[74]

His unorthodox application procedures thus fulfilled Morgan's goal of finding the students he thought would benefit most from the Antioch program.

Despite the uncertainties of whether the New Antioch would succeed, for the first time in a great many years the College could be selective in its admissions. Even in 1921, only a small proportion of those inquiring about admissions were actually accepted.[75] Yet to ensure a large pool from which to choose, Morgan followed up on all inquiries about the program. Having sent a bulletin and application blank earlier, he

*Interview with Arthur E. Morgan by Ann Cornog, November 5, 1951, p. 8. By 1924 much of the selection would be done by an admissions committee, thus freeing Morgan for other activities. See Arthur Morgan, letter to Charles W. Eliot, December 2, 1924.

wrote prospective applicants a letter inquiring whether they would indeed be applying and offering to answer any questions they might have.[76] He also used a number of methods for publicizing the New Antioch, such as sending form letters to a number of people asking them to post information about the College on their bulletin boards and asking others to "help in putting us in touch with . . . young people who would profit by the Antioch training."[77] He contacted everyone from high school principals to church ministers. In addition, the articles which Arthur Morgan and others published in various magazines helped bring Antioch to the attention of large numbers of students. This resulted in many inquiries and applications.[78] The students who came to the College ranged from wealthy easterners (to whom Antioch was an alternative to traditional education)[79] to youngsters who would not have been able to attend college without their earnings from the work-study program.

It has been said that, in the early years of the New Antioch, Arthur Morgan and Antioch were one and the same and that everyone felt the College would collapse without his leadership.[80] This may well have been true to the extent that those faculty and students who remained at Antioch had an almost-messianic belief in Morgan's ability to pull the College out of its financial straits. Those who disagreed with Morgan's ideas and abilities either did not come to Antioch in the first place or left after a short time. The relatively high attrition rate of the faculty in the early years (see Appendix B, Table 10) was likely due to a number of reasons, but one must surely have been a conflict in educational objectives. Nevertheless, in the early 1920's, Antioch had a sense of excitement and optimism which had not existed on the campus for years.

MODIFICATIONS OF THE ANTIOCH PLAN

While the most dramatic changes took place at Antioch in the first few years of the 1920's, Arthur E. Morgan did not immediately accomplish all of his goals for the College. In the years following the inauguration of the Antioch Plan, he began working toward new programs which would complement the curriculum and enrich the students' learning. Two of the most important of these later developments were the autonomous plan and the establishment of small industries.

From the beginning of his plans for Antioch, Arthur Morgan thought the students should be able to pursue independent study in fields that interested them, and he conceived the idea of a program of autonomous courses whereby the students could specialize as much as they wished under the guidance of a faculty member.[81] While this concept was the exact opposite of the required courses, Morgan felt that the two combined would provide a more complete education. This idea was being espoused by Morgan by the end of the reorganization period, but the 1921-1922 faculty members were not yet ready for such a radical departure from traditional methods of teaching. The minutes of a faculty meeting on September 12, 1921, show that Morgan raised the idea of using autonomous courses whenever there were only a few students in the class. But the record also shows that after some discussion the matter was dropped for the time being.[82] A year later, in September of 1922, Morgan again brought up the issue of autonomous courses in a faculty meeting. He stated that specific courses should be limited to fundamentals and that students should do advanced work via autonomous courses. Furthermore, he said that, within the regular courses, students should be allowed to not attend class and instead work independently if they were able to progress faster than the course.[83] This issue remained under discussion for some time.

Finally, in the spring of 1927, the autonomous plan was worked out with the faculty so that it would be available to students after the second year of their program. Faculty were required to prepare detailed outlines of each of their courses so that the students could work independently of the class if they chose to do so. While initially some faculty members were hesitant about being able to implement this program, efforts were made to make the transition easier. Shortly after the autonomous plan was agreed

upon, a committee of three faculty members was set up by Morgan to meet with other faculty and with students to see how well the plan was working and to gain suggestions on how it could be improved.[84] Thus the autonomous plan was an experiment in which constant modifications were an integral part of the implementation.

The autonomous plan served another purpose in that it pointed out to the faculty that the worth of a course cannot be measured by hours spent in class.[85] Morgan believed that progress and quality should be measured instead through accomplishment:

> In the last twenty years, I have employed more than two thousand college graduates, each of whom has received enough hours of credit to finish a college course. Unless we can develop a method of measuring accomplishment more effective than that by which their work was rated, I shall consider that our undertaking has not been a complete success.[86]

Over the years, therefore, required attendance for classes was de-emphasized.[87]

This method of working with the faculty over a long period of time in order to implement a new program may seem atypical of Morgan when one considers the method by which he implemented the reorganization of Antioch. But it was the reorganization itself which can be considered atypical, for the circumstances called for drastic measures. While Morgan had a great many ideas he wanted to implement at Antioch, he was able to assign priorities to each of them. As a result, he made the initial crucial decisions himself during the reorganization, for in such matters as developing the structure of the curriculum, time was of the essence. He could not wait until the faculty had been hired before planning the curriculum, so he relied mainly on ideas and information from others outside Antioch, such as the members of the curriculum advisory committee.

For less immediate matters, such as the implementation of the autonomous plan, Arthur Morgan tried to involve the faculty more in the decision-making. Since they would be the ones to implement the program, Morgan knew he would need their complete support. The autonomous plan was an entirely different concept to the faculty, however, and when Morgan first presented his idea in a faculty meeting, he did not elicit much enthusiasm for it. But he kept talking about it, both with individual faculty members and at faculty meetings, until he finally won the faculty over to his side. As a result, however, it was several years before the autonomous plan was put into effect.

The concept of small industries was also a part of Arthur Morgan's plans for Antioch almost from the beginning. Although Antioch's cooperative program embodied the use of existing businesses in the area to employ students, he envisioned an even greater link between the College and business enterprises — the development of small industries on campus:

> We plan on erecting a standard factory building on the campus in which will be located about a dozen small industries. The college will furnish the floor space, power and labor supply. We also plan on taking over much of the overhead of these small industries. A single accounting department will take care of these industries and the cost of finding, traffic, publicity, and shop organizations will be handled in the same manner.[88]

Morgan knew, however, that such an experiment could not be implemented immediately, as it might jeopardize the still fragile structure of Antioch's reorganization.[89] But once the main program was established, he hoped to move students away from existing businesses and into the small industries.

Morgan had several reasons for attempting such a novel enterprise. First of all, the small industries would "serve as a laboratory in business administration" and would

provide ideal job opportunities for students.[90] Not only would they save money and time by not having to travel long distances, but "experience in them will cover all of the phases of industry including labor, shop organization, accounting, labor management, buying, selling, etc.,"[91] thereby giving the students exposure to a number of different fields within business. Second, Morgan felt the establishment of small industries on campus would facilitate coordination between the cooperative experience and classroom instruction.[92] This was especially important because he wanted academic and real-life knowledge to complement each other:

> There was too little relationship between business ethics and the ethical standards [one] learned in college. The actual need to [achieve a relationship] would bring reality into education.[93]

Third, Morgan hoped that the income from these small industries would provide financial assistance to the College and would allow Antioch to become more self-sufficient.[94]

Fourth, having been a successful engineer and businessman, Arthur Morgan believed in the idea of free enterprise, where anyone could set up his own company and be successful. Thus he espoused the principle of small businesses:

> When, while planning our program, I visited the President of the largest bank in America — whom I happened to know through my engineering work — to talk about small industries, he summed up our conversation with, 'Arthur, you had better forget it. The day of small industry is past. There soon will be nothing left in America but big business and peanut stands. You had better join big business.'[95]

By supporting several small industries rather than one large one, Morgan felt that Yellow Springs would not become a "company town" and would provide a wider range of opportunities for Antioch students.[96] The fifth, and by no means the least, reason for Morgan's interest in small industries was that he believed the combination of education and small industries would further the strong sense of community which he was trying to develop at Antioch. In earlier years he had envisioned Jacob's Pillow would become a self-contained, self-supporting educational institution where learning and family living prevailed. He held these same visions for Antioch, but he realized that his ideas had to be modified to work in a much larger institution. Intrigued with the idea of a utopian community, he (consciously or subconsciously) was trying to develop such a lifestyle at Antioch.

During the reorganization period (1919-1921), much of Arthur Morgan's time was spent setting up the cooperative program, but he also began making plans for the types of industries he hoped would come to Yellow Springs. While he preferred to have new industries started there, he also explored the possibilities of having existing companies transfer their operations to Yellow Springs.[97] When he was still a trustee, Morgan talked to businessman Gordon Rentschler (who would himself later become a trustee) about his plans. Rentschler, who was closely associated with Henry Ford, was so interested in the idea that he said he would try to get Henry Ford to build a factory in Yellow Springs.[98] Morgan also had thoughts of locating a small chemical industry near the campus, as well as "textile, mechanical, and commercial industries, and a printing and publishing plant,"[99] and later even the manufacture of whole-wheat flour.[100] Many of these ideas did not come to fruition, perhaps because Morgan was not able to find industrialists who would be willing to work toward a "more universal purpose."[101]

One of the most interesting and unique ideas for a small industry which did become a reality, however, was the process of lost wax-casting of metals. An ancient process from China, this method had been used as well in Africa, and it fulfilled Morgan's goal of establishing new industries in fields of endeavor that had not been fully developed.[102] The Foundry, which was established in 1925-1926, later utilized this

making of bronze sculptures. Other industries which were established in the 1920's, and which continued long after Morgan's tenure as president, were the Antioch Press (1922) and the Antioch Bookplate Company (c. 1924).

Antioch College's relationship with these small industries can perhaps best be seen in the story of the Antioch Shoe Project. Morgan's plan was to attract individuals who had ideas of a business or manufacturing nature to the campus, where they would be free to develop these ideas. One such person was Edwin Mathews, who became associated with Antioch around the middle of the decade. Mathews had developed a new type of shoe for women. By the end of 1925, after a great deal of experimentation, he had manufactured a number of these shoes and had begun selling them. A tireless worker, within a couple of years Mathews had a thriving business and was traveling throughout the country marketing his product.* In return for its support, Antioch received a royalty of $1.00 on each pair of shoes sold.[103] While the circumstances are not entirely known, late in the 1920's Arthur Morgan and Edwin Mathews had a falling out, and Mathews left the institution. For a few years his patent was retained by the College and some attempts were made to carry on, but eventually the project folded.

The record is not altogether clear on how close a financial relationship existed between Antioch and these small industries. Several College budgets do list expenditures to some of these industries. An auxiliary budget for 1925-1926 shows that while much of the nearly $80,000 contributed by Charles Kettering and others in that academic year was used for fund-raising, approximately $16,000 was used for four small industries. Furthermore, it indicates that approximately $15,000 had been expended on these same industries prior to the 1925-1926 year. The largest recipient was the Antioch Shoe Project; College expenditures to it through 1926 totaled over $21,000.[104] A later budget, for 1928-1929, shows a total expenditure of $5,000 for the three major industries — shoes, the press, and the foundry.[105] In later years, however, the College separated from these industries,[106] thereby foregoing any financial remuneration from them.

Arthur Morgan's plans for the small industries proceeded much slower than he had hoped, and this concept never became quite the moving force he had wanted it to be. His plan of locating these industries on campus under one factory roof never became a reality, and his utopian ideal was not reached. But the small industries concept did serve as a model for Antioch students and provided them with good cooperative experiences.** Regardless of how successful this experiment is considered to be, it was a major component of the Antioch Plan as envisioned by Arthur E. Morgan.

*In fact, one of the Antioch students spent her time in the cooperative program traveling around the country and modeling the shoes (Interview with Anona Stoner by George C. Newman, September 5, 1975).

**Several students even remained in the community after graduation and fostered other small enterprises.

NOTES

[1]O. G. Mathiasen and A. C. Swinnerton, "Antioch Appraises Itself," *Christian Science Monitor*, April 10, 1934.

[2]Arthur E. Morgan, *A Compendium of Antioch Notes* (Yellow Springs, O.: Kahoe & Co., 1936), pp. 214-215; Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Laurence B. Packard, February 2, 1921.

[3]Interview with John Dudley Dawson by George C. Newman, March 8, 1975.

[4]Morgan, *Compendium*, p. 208.

[5]Arthur E. Morgan, "The Plan for the New Antioch," December 1920.

[6]Interview with Arthur E. Morgan by Ann Cornog, November 5, 1951, p. 2; Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Rufus B. Smith, April 28, 1921.

[7]Interview with Arthur E. Morgan by Ann Cornog, November 5, 1951, p. 2.

[8]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Rufus B. Smith, April 28, 1921.

[9][Arthur E. Morgan], "The Aim of Education," [December 1920], p. 9.

[10]Arthur E. Morgan, "The Antioch Plan: Training for Administration and Proprietorship at a Small College," *Engineering News-Record* 86 (January 20, 1921), p. 108.

[11]Morgan, "Aim of Education," pp. 13-14.

[12]Antioch College *Bulletin*, vol. 19 (February 1923), p. 16.

[13]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to E. J. Mehren, December 28, 1920.

[14]Interview with Arthur E. Morgan by Ann Cornog, November 5, 1951, p. 3.

[15]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Suzanne Wunder, January 26, 1921.

[16]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to John A. Kingsbury, May 20, 1922.

[17]Interview with Arthur E. Morgan by Ann Cornog, November 5, 1951, pp. 5-6.

[18]Antioch College *Bulletin*, vol. 19 (April 1923), "Antioch Philosophy," pp. 7-11.

[19]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to *The Engineering News-Record*, March 2, 1921.

[20]Morgan, *Compendium*, p. 215.

[21]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Nelson S. Talbott, May 9, 1921.

[22]Interview with Horace Champney by George C. Newman, June 16, 1975.

[23]Morgan, "Aim of Education," p. 12.

[24]Ibid., p. 11.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Laurence B. Packard, February 2, 1921.

[27]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Morris Keeton, February 6, 1965.

[28]Interview with John Dudley Dawson by George C. Newman, March 25, 1975.

[29]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Laurence B. Packard, February 2, 1921.

[30]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Joseph H. Willits, December 27, 1920; Arthur E. Morgan, letter to James Harvey Robinson, December 24, 1920.

[31]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Harold A. Ley, January 6, 1921.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Maurice R. Davie, March 9, 1921.

[34]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Charles Gott, March 7, 1921; Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Theodore M. Pease, March 15, 1921; Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Lester C. Farris, May 18, 1921.

[35]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to C. A. Bonine, May 6, 1921.

[36]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to A. C. Trowbridge, May 9, 1921.

[37]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Laurence B. Packard, February 2, 1921.

[38]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Ernest Oberholtzer, April 28, 1921.

[39]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to John Storck, February 4, 1921.

[40]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Laurence B. Packard, February 2, 1921.

[41]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Isaiah Bowman, January 21, 1921; Arthur E. Morgan, letter to John Storck, February 4, 1921.

[42]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Isaiah Bowman, February 16, 1921; Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Hendrik W Van Loon, May 3, 1921.

[43]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to John Storck, February 4, 1921.

[44]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Edward Yeomans, November 20, 1920.

[45]Antioch College *Bulletin*, vol. 15 (April 1919).

[46]T. Howard Winters, letter to Arthur E. Morgan, March 15, 1921.

[47]Ibid.

[48]William M. Dawson, letter to Arthur E. Morgan, February 21, 1921.

[49]T. Howard Winters, letter to Arthur E. Morgan, March 15, 1921.

[50]Interview with Arthur E. Morgan by George C. Newman, January 30, 1975.

[51]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to J. T. Gilman, November 9, 1920.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to L. P. Breckenridge, February 7, 1921.

[54]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Suzanne Wunder, January 26, 1921.

[55]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to John Dewey, February 11, 1921.

[56]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to C. E. Erffmeyer, May 19, 1921.

[57]Charles W. Eliot, letter to Arthur E. Morgan, February 14, 1921.

[58]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Charles W. Eliot, March 4, 1921.

[59]John T. Tigert, "Professional Salaries," *School and Society* 15 (February 25, 1922), p. 207.

[60]Ibid., p. 206.

[61]James Harvey Robinson, letter to Arthur E. Morgan, February 15, 1921.

[62]Interview with Jane Cape by George C. Newman, December 18, 1974.

[63]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to C. E. Erffmeyer, May 19, 1921.

[64]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to C. Hanford Henderson, April 27, 1921.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Gerard Willem Van Loon, *The Story of Hendrick Willem Van Loon* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott, 1972), pp. 88-91.

[67]Ibid., p. 126.

[68]Ibid., p. 123.

[69]Ibid., p. 131.

[70]Ibid.

[71]Clarence T. Leuba, *A Road to Creativity: Arthur Morgan, Engineer, Educator, Administrator* (North Quincy, Mass.: Christopher Publication House, 1971), p. 149.

[72]Ibid., p. 145.

[73]Charles W. Eliot, "Antioch College," *School and Society* 18 (July 14, 1923), pp. 35-38.

[74]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Charles W. Eliot, December 2, 1924.

[75]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Cary F. Jacobs, May 20, 1921.

[76]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to J. E. Goeslich, May 27, 1921.

[77]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to James H. Brown, June 11, 1921.

[78]Interview with Arthur E. Morgan by Ann Cornog, November 5, 1951, p. 8.

[79]See Ida C. Clarke, "Antioch, an Adventure in Education," *Pictorial Review*, January 1924, pp. 20-21, 28, 30.

[80]Tape prepared for the Morgan Convocation by Tony Dallas, June 10, 1976.

[81]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to C. A. Bonine, May 6, 1921.

[82]Antioch College, Minutes of the Faculty Meeting, September 12, 1921.

[83]Antioch College, Minutes of the Faculty Meeting, September 1, 1922.

[84]P. S. Dwyer, R. E. Hiller, and O. F. Mathiasen, "The Autonomous Plan Committee Report, 1927-28," Antioch College, ca. 1928.

[85]Interview with John Dudley Dawson by George C. Newman, March 25, 1975.

[86]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Cary F. Jacobs, May 20, 1921.

[87]Interview with John Dudley Dawson by George C. Newman, March 25, 1975.

[88]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Charles W. Eliot, July 12, 1920.

[89]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Walter Lipmann, January 8, 1920.

[90]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to E. R. Hayburst, March 10, 1921.

[91]Morgan, "Aim of Education," p. 6.

[92]Ibid.

[93]Interview with Arthur E. Morgan by Ann Cornog, November 5, 1951, p. 3.

[94]Ibid.

[95]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Willard Johnson, March 24, 1965.

[96]Ibid.

[97]Interview with Arthur E. Morgan by Ann Cornog, November 5, 1951, p. 4.

[98]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to his mother, August 17, 1919.

[99]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Leon Ciechomski, April 14, 1921.

[100]Arthur E. Morgan, memo to the Board of Trustees of Antioch College, November 9, 1925.

[101]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to Willard Johnson, March 24, 1965.

[102]Ibid.

[103]Arthur E. Morgan, memo to the Board of Trustees of Antioch College, November 9, 1925.

[104]Antioch College, "Schedule IV, Auxiliary Budget, Expense," April 30, 1926.

[105]Antioch College, "Expense Budget, 1928-1929," Item 2, General, [1928].

[106]Interview with Arthur E. Morgan by Ann Cornog, November 5, 1951, p. 4.

VI. FROM CRISIS TO STABILITY

The implementation of the New Antioch made the College an emerging force in higher education in a few short years. Yet this was not accomplished instantaneously; the College was constantly changing in the years from 1921-1925, expanding its goals and solidifying its accomplishments. An examination of quantitative data shows the extent of the changes made at Antioch from the period immediately prior to the New Antioch to the mid-1920's, when the College had stabilized. Some of these changes were unique to Antioch; others were part of a national trend, as a comparison with similar colleges will make clear.

ANTIOCH ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The extent of change at Antioch is evident in three major areas: curriculum, faculty, and students. Table 1 illustrates the evolution of the curriculum during the 1920's by showing how academic majors shifted over time. In the early 1920's male graduates majored primarily in physical science, liberal arts, and education, but by the mid-1920's significant numbers were majoring in such fields as business management and engineering. Women, too, showed a shift away from traditional majors; beginning in the mid-1920's a number of women graduates majored in home management. These new majors were indicative of the College's shift from traditional academic subjects to more practical areas.

TABLE 1

CURRICULUM MAJORS OF ANTIOCH GRADUATES, BY PERCENTAGES

	Phys Sci	Lib Arts	Educ	Bus Mgmt	Engr	Home Mgmt	TOTAL N
MEN							
1922	100%	—	—	—	—	—	4
1923	42	29%	29%	—	—	—	14
1924	—	20	20	50%	10%	—	10
1925	10	16	21	37	16	—	19
1926	12	25	16	41	6	—	32
1927	5	37	13	19	26	—	38
1928	13	18	7	44	18	—	55
1929	24	34	5	24	13	—	41
1930	19	26	7	26	22	—	42
WOMEN							
1922	100	—	—	—	—	—	1
1923	—	50	50	—	—	—	4
1924	—	17	83	—	—	—	6
1925	9	27	55	—	—	9%	11
1926	—	27	55	—	—	18	11
1927	8	21	50	—	—	21	14
1928	7	60	26	—	—	7	27
1929	—	40	40	13	—	7	15
1930	11	28	56	—	—	5	18

Source: Antioch College Office of Educational Evaluation and Research, Lists of Antioch College Graduates and Their Majors, 1974.

The growth of Antioch's national reputation in the 1920's was enhanced by its selection of College faculty. While the majority of the Antioch faculty were not nationally known, Arthur Morgan did acquire people of diverse backgrounds from all over the country. Table 2 presents a summary of demographic characteristics for faculty members hired between 1916 and 1925.* The breakdown by sex does not show any major differences between the period of Morgan's administration and the years before, although the percentage of new faculty who were women was somewhat smaller during the early Morgan years than the period before 1921 (27 compared to 40 percent). Some interesting differences appear in terms of educational level, however. The percentage of total faculty hired without degrees did not increase after Morgan became president (26 percent before compared to 23 percent after), but much of this can be explained by the fact that before Morgan, 5 of the 9 faculty without degrees were students while this was true for only 1 of the 21 faculty without degrees hired by Morgan. When all students are excluded, Morgan's emphasis on hiring faculty regardless of their academic backgrounds is more apparent, for 24 percent of the faculty hired by Morgan were without degrees compared to only 14 percent before. It is very likely that at other colleges across the country the number of faculty without degrees would not have increased.

TABLE 2
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS ON FACULTY HIRED, PRE-1916-1925**

	Pre-1916***	1916	1917	1918	1919
TOTAL	16 (incl. 3 stud.)	1 stud.)	8	2 (incl. 1 stud.)	5
SEX					
Male	10	2	3	0	4
Female	6	0	5	2	1
EDUCATION					
No college degree	3	1	4	0	0
Bachelors	5	1	4	2	3
Masters	5	0	9	0	0
Doctorate	3	0	9	0	2
GEOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND					
Midwest	11	2	5	2	2
East	2	0	0	0	3
West	0	0	0	0	0
South	0	0	0	0	0
Foreign	0	0	0	0	0
Missing data	3	0	3	0	0
PRIOR EXPERIENCE (post-degree)					
Academic	—	—	—	—	—
Work	—	—	—	—	—
Both	—	—	—	—	—
None or missing data	—	—	—	—	—

*While the available information is sketchy, a few of these faculty appear to have been students at the College who also performed an instructional role.

**Age not available.

***Faculty who were hired before 1916 and still at Antioch in 1916.

FACULTY AREA						
Liberal arts		11	1	4	1	4
Physical science		4	1	2	1	1
Business		0	0	0	0	0
Education		0	0	1	0	0
Engineering		0	0	0	0	0
Home management		0	0	0	0	0
Music/arts		1	0	1	0	0
LENGTH OF ASSOCIATION						
1 year or less		3	2	4	1	4
2-4 years		3	0	3	1	1
5-10 years		1	0	1	0	0
>10 years			0	0	0	0
	1920	**1921**	**1922**	**1923**	**1924**	**1925**
TOTAL	2 (incl. 1 stud.)	21	28 (incl. 2 stud.)	8 (incl. 2 stud.)	16 (inc. 2 stud.)	18
SEX						
Male	2	16	22	4	11	13
Female	0	5	6	4	5	5
EDUCATION						
No Coll. Degree	1	6	6	1	1	7
Bachelors	1	6	11	3	9	2
Masters	0	3	3	2	3	3
Doctorate	0	6	8	2	3	6
GEOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND						
Midwest	2	3	10	2	7	6
East	0	11	10	3	8	7
West	0	2	2	0	0	0
South	0	0	1	0	0	0
Foreign	0	1	2	2	1	3
Missing data	0	4	3	1	0	2
PRIOR EXPERIENCE (post-degree)						
Academic	—	4	13	1	0	9
Work	—	14	8	3	4	0
Both	—	3	1	2	0	1
None or M.D.	—	0	6	2	12	8
FACULTY AREA						
Lib. Arts	1	6	11	6	8	9
Phys. Sci.	1	3	7	0	0	1
Business	0	7	4	0	2	2
Education	0	3	3	1	2	3
Engineering	0	1	2	0	1	0
Home Mgmt.	0	1	1	1	1	0
Music/Arts	0	0	0	0	2	3

LENGTH OF ASSOCIATION						
1 year or less	1	9	8	5	0	3
2-4 years	1	3	8	2	6	8
5-10 years	0	7	6	1	8	4
>10 years	0	2	6	0	2	3

Sources: Antioch College *Bulletins*, vols. 12-22, 1916-1926; Robert L. Straker, ed., *Directory of Antioch College, 1850-1933*. Antioch College, 1933; R[obert] L. Straker, "Notes on Antioch History, 1903-1920."

Table 3 looks at these faculty without degrees (including students) in more detail, specifying the areas in which they were hired to teach. These figures reinforce the changing emphasis in the Antioch curriculum. Before 1921 two-thirds of those hired without degrees were in the physical sciences and liberal arts areas. After that date only one-third were in these areas, while the rest were in business, engineering, education, and music and the arts. The faculty without degrees, therefore, were hired by Morgan primarily for the work-related subjects. This was undoubtedly an astute policy in the sense that the traditional subjects were still taught primarily by those academically qualified, thereby not damaging the College's academic reputation nationally; at the same time Morgan provided a closer integration of the theoretical and practical experience than their academic backgrounds.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF FACULTY HAVING NO FORMAL DEGREES

	1916-1920 (Pre-Morgan)	1921-1925 (Post-Morgan)
Physical Sciences	3	0
Liberal Arts	3	7
Education	1	3
Business	0	6
Engineering	0	2
Music/Arts	2	3
TOTAL	9	21*

*Arthur E. Morgan is not included in this total.

Sources: Antioch College *Bulletins*, vols. 12-22, 1916-1926; Robert L. Straker, ed., *Directory of Antioch College, 1850-1933*. Antioch College, 1933; R[obert] L. Straker, "Notes on Antioch History, 1903-1920," Antioch College, 1953.

Returning to Table 2, it can be seen that before 1920, the College's faculty came predominantly from the Midwest and especially from Ohio institutions. Beginning with the fall of 1921, however, the geographical composition of faculty at the College began to show a distinctive national representation; over the next five years faculty came from all geographic areas of the country and from foreign institutions. In fact, in the years between 1921 and 1925 the number of newly hired faculty who came from eastern colleges equaled or exceeded the number of those who came from the Midwest. Morgan's preoccupation with hiring faculty from eastern institutions parallels his concern with obtaining new members for the Board of Trustees from the eastern metropolitan regions of the country. Although he was critical of traditional education in general, at the same time he was impressed with the reputation eastern colleges had acquired. Some of this reputation might rub off on Antioch if he were to acquire faculty from these institutions, thereby enhancing his chances of obtaining financial support from wealthy individuals.

366

Information on the prior work experience of faculty hired before 1921 is unavailable in any systematic format; however, the existing data for the 1921-1925 period show that substantial numbers of new faculty had prior work experience in nonacademic settings. This provides further evidence of Morgan's belief that the value of the Antioch Plan was greatly dependent upon hiring into faculty positions individuals who were not strictly academics, since students would also be involved in real-life experiences. In order to tie the academic world to the real world, individuals representing nonacademic areas were needed in the academic program as well as in the cooperative experience.

The academic area into which faculty were hired, as shown in Table 2, points again to the fact that Arthur Morgan expanded the areas of business, education, and engineering by hiring a number of faculty for those areas. At the same time, however, he did not neglect the liberal arts and physical sciences, for these were of great importance in the first years of the students' academic programs. What he was seeking was a balanced program for the students, and his hiring record reflects this attempt.

The length of association with the College for the newly hired faculty members is another significant factor in evaluating both the evolution of the Antioch Plan and the politcs of the institution. The data for faculty hired before 1921 are not particularly valid, for most of the original faculty had left the institution — either voluntarily or because their contracts were not renewed — shortly after Morgan became president. After 1921, however, interesting statistics emerge. In the early years, a large percentage of the faculty spent between one and four years with the institution, while by 1924 the turnover rate in faculty had noticeably decreased. The stabilization in faculty by the mid-1920's appears to be greatest in the liberal arts area, while the greatest turnover was in the business and education areas.[1]

There could be many reasons for this. As Antioch became better known and more established, it may have been easier for Morgan to recruit appropriate faculty who would fit into the Antioch Plan. Also, once the program was put into operation, judgments about whether a prospective faculty member would fit into the program would likely be more accurate; thus fewer mistakes would be made in the offering and accepting of jobs. A third reason may have been the fact that with the curriculum still in a developmental stage in the early years, the faculty had to work extremely hard to implement the program. Despite the fact that some of the preliminary work had been done for them by Morgan's curriculum advisory committee, they were left to struggle on their own with the implementation of Morgan's ideas, for Morgan himself was often busy with other matters, such as fund raising. In such a situation, it would not be surprising for some faculty to become disenchanted with this formidable task and leave. Later faculty, however, were starting in a more stable environment and would be less inclined to leave.

The student population is perhaps the greatest and most obvious indicator of Arthur Morgan's success in making Antioch a viable institution, both in terms of enrollment and their geographic distribution. Table 4 shows the enrollmeft and graduate distribution for Antioch College between 1915 and 1933.* Enrollments at Antioch had decreased from over 200 regular students in 1915 to less than 100 by 1919. When Arthur Morgan became president of the College in 1920, he let the College maintain the status quo for a year, while the plans for its reorganization were being finalized. In the fall of 1921, however, enrollments increased dramatically, and throughout the first half of the 1920's each succeeding year brought around 100 additional students to the College. The second half of the decade saw enrollments stabilizing at between 600 and 700 students, slightly above what Morgan thought was the College's optimum size — 600 students.

*Enrollment statistics from different sources vary slightly. In each case, the source which appeared the most comprehensive and most widely accepted was chosen.

TABLE 4
ENROLLMENT STATISTICS AND NUMBER OF GRADUATES AT ANTIOCH COLLEGE, 1915-1933

	Enrollment			Graduates		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
PRE-MORGAN						
1915-1916	—*	—	252 + 27 music	—	—	—
1916-1917	—	—	200 + 46 music	—	—	—
1917-1918	—	—	57 + 40 music	—	—	—
1918-1919	—	—	72 + 43 music	—	—	—
REORGANIZATION						
1919-1920	—	—	81 + 50 music	—	—	—
1920-1921	—	—	75 + 25 music	—	—	—
EARLY MORGAN						
1921-1922	164	39	203	4	1	5
1922-1923	311	82	393	14	4	18
1923-1924	377	140	517	10	6	16
1924-1925	444	154	598	19	11	30
LATE MORGAN						
1925-1926	468	172	640	32	11	43
1926-1927	532	187	719	38 + 1 MS	14	52 + 1 MS
1927-1928	509	187	706	55	27	82
1928-1929	459	205	664	41	15	56
1929-1930	467	213	680	42	18	60
1930-1931	420	220	640	37	13	50
1931-1932	376	225	601	42	22	64
1932-1933	360	200	560	26	19 + 1 MA	45 + 1 MA

*Not available.

Source: Antioch College, "Enrollment at Antioch College," comp. Bessie Totten, [1935].

The second half of Table 4, which shows the number of students who graduated during the 1920's and early 1930's, illuminates another issue — the attrition rate at Antioch. Table 5 shows in detail Antioch's attrition rate for several years during the 1920's.* Out of 249 students entering Antioch in 1923, for example, 77.5 percent came back for a second year and only 9.6 percent were on hand at the beginning of the sixth year, 1928. However, "almost exactly 25% of the freshmen of 1924 [completed the program], about half in five years and half in six."** As a result, in the late twenties enrollment at Antioch was nearly evenly divided between the freshmen and sophomores on the one hand and the upperclassmen on the other.[2] Due to the incompleteness of the available data, it is impossible to determine whether this statement is representative of other years.

TABLE 5

ATTRITION RATE OF STUDENTS

Class of:		Year of Enrollment*			
		1923-24	1924-25	1928-29	1929-30
1922-23:	246 new students				
		Soph	Sub-Jr	Post-Sr	Post-Sr
Remaining		56.5%	41.5%	1.6%	2.0%
1923-24:	249 new students				
			Soph	Sr	Post-Sr
Remaining		77.5%	9.6%	1.2%	
1924-25:	220 new students				
				Sub-Sr	Sr
Remaining				25.4%	12.3%
1925-26:	249 new students				
				Jr	Sub-Sr
Remaining				27.3%	22.1%
1926-27:	265 new students				
				Sub-Jr	Jr
Remaining				49.4%	32.1%
1927-28:	231 new students				
				Soph	Sub-Jr
Remaining				63.2%	40.3%
1928-29:	219 new students				
					Soph
Remaining					72.6%

*Data for the years from 1925 to 1928 were not available.

Sources: Antioch College Admissions Department, "Statistics, 1924," [1925]; Antioch College Admissions Department, "Antioch Enrollment, 1928," November 12, 1928; Antioch College Admissions Department, "Antioch Enrollment, 1929," November 25, 1929.

By comparison, a study done at Antioch around 1930 showed that at Oberlin College, another small private college in Ohio, nearly 45 percent of the 1925-1926 entering class graduated in four years, with a total of 51 percent becoming graduates.[3] While this is considerably higher than at Antioch, it must be remembered that Antioch

*Data for the years from 1925 to 1928 were not available.

**Grace K. Willet, memo to Mr. Swinnerton, ca 1929-30. It should be noted that in later years the Antioch program officially became a five-year program, and it continued as such until recently.

students had to spend an extra year or two at the College in order to graduate. Furthermore, Antioch's figures do not look low when contrasted with those of Ohio State University; the Antioch study stated that only 7-8 percent of the students entering the College of Arts in 1923 graduated four years later.[4]

There are a number of reasons why so many students left Antioch without completing their degrees. As is true in many colleges, there were undoubtedly a certain number of students who were dissatisfied with college life in general and/or Antioch's program in particular. For others the prospect of six years of college may have seemed too long and too costly, and they ended up taking permanent jobs (perhaps even with the firms they worked with in their cooperative program) before finishing their degrees. These hypotheses are at least partially documented by information about the freshman class of 1927-1928. Of 17 freshmen withdrawing before their first year was completed, three did so because of dissatisfaction with the College, five for lack of money, three for personal or family health reasons, two because of their parents' desire, one for misconduct outside the College, and three for poor scholarship.[5]

That this last season, poor scholarship, is an important one is shown by the fact that over the years a number of students were put on probation and eventually flunked out of school.* Morgan was concerned about maintaining a high academic standard, and thus the minutes of early faculty meetings show considerable preoccupation with probationary matters. The entire faculty meeting of February 20, 1923, for example, was devoted to a discussion of various students and their probationary status,[6] and other meetings included probationary reports.[7] Such concern for keeping Antioch's scholastic standards high can be seen in another faculty meeting, held on February 17, 1922. At that time faculty members generally agreed that to avoid lowering its standards, even in individual cases, Antioch should be more careful in its admissions procedures. However, Philip Nash expressed the beliefs that the percentage of students on probation at Antioch was no larger, and perhaps not as large, as the percentage at other colleges.[8]

While Arthur Morgan was concerned about the fact that a number of students had to be put on probation — perhaps as a result of the great amount of freedom allowed them by the autonomous plan — he nevertheless believed that Antioch had not necessarily failed in its educational goals. According to his philosophy, Antioch's program could be considered a success if the student, whether or not he or she graduated, had obtained some intellectual and vocational values through association with the institution.[9] In any case, it is significant to note that even with a substantial attrition rate, enrollments at Antioch continued to climb — certainly a tribute to Morgan's recruiting efforts and to the drawing power of the Antioch Plan.

Although there is little available information on specific student characteristics, sufficient data are available on geographic distribtuion to provide a valid, and interesting, comparison of students over the first half of the 1920's. As can be seen from Table 6, in 1921 the bulk of the students came from the state of Ohio, and over three-quarters of the student body from the Midwest. When one looks at the students at Antioch in the 1925-1926 academic year, a different picture emerges. Assuming that most seniors and sub-seniors in 1923, and so on, Table 6 shows that more of the students were coming to Antioch from outside the Midwest, especially from the eastern states.

*See, for instance, Antioch College, Minutes of the Faculty Meeting, June 23, 1925, where it was reported that 13 students were dropped for low scholarship, 6 had resigned and notes had been placed int their folders saying they were not to return, 3 were given an honorable dismissal, 2 were dropped for disciplinary reasons, 8 were put on probation, and 2 were advised not to return to Antioch in the fall.

TABLE 6

REGISTER OF STUDENTS BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA

	Ohio	Midwest	East	South	West	Foreign
1921 Students	136	24	31	5	12	1
1925-1926 Students						
Seniors and Sub-Seniors	26	13	20	1	6	4
Juniors and Sub-Seniors	38	33	53	3	17	7
Sophomores	35	39	41	3	8	8
Freshmen	56	36	87	12	19	4
Graduates	2	0	2	0	0	2
Special	5	5	21	0	3	3
	162	126	224	19	53	28

Source: Antioch College *Bulletin*, vol. 22 (April 1926), "Register of Students, 1925-1926," pp. 154-167.

Table 7 shows this shift even more clearly. Whereas in 1921-1922, 65 percent of the students were from Ohio, by 1925-1926 this had dropped to 26 percent. Conversely, students from the East made up only 15 percent of the student body in 1921-1922, but 37 percent in 1925-1926. Percentages for all the non-Ohio areas of the country increased as well; in fact, by the 1925-1926 academic year, the students represented 43 of the 48 states, and the District of Columbia as well. Of the five states not represented on campus, four were from the South and one from the West.* This increased national representation of the student body had been one of Arthur Morgan's aims for Antioch, and the data show how well he succeeded.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGES OF STUDENTS FROM VARIOUS GEOGRAPHIC AREAS

	1921-1922 (N=209)	1925-1926 (N=612)
Ohio	65%	26%
Rest of Midwest	11.5	21
East	15	37
South	2	3
West	6	9
Foreign	0.5	4

Source: Antioch College *Bulletin*, vol. 22 (April 1926), "Register of Students, 1925-1926," pp. 154-167.

NATIONAL COMPARISON

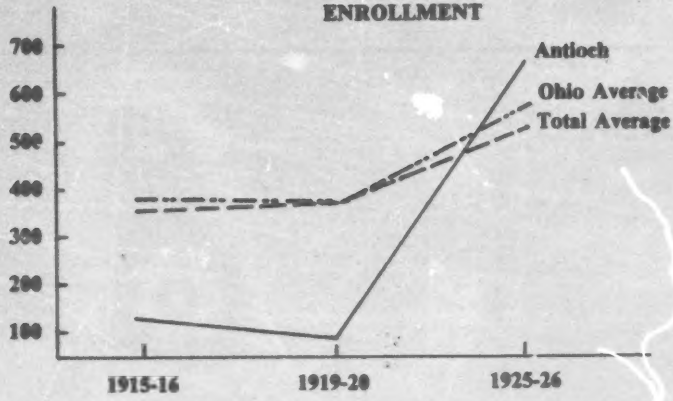
The preceding data illustrate changes and growth for Antioch College during the early 1920's. Yet the extent of these changes is more easily appreciated when data from the early Morgan years are compared with those of other, similar institutions. Accordingly 54 colleges throughout the United States, with characteristics similar to Antioch, were selected for the comparison (see Appendix C for the selection procedure and the list of colleges selected).

As seen in Figure 1,** there was an upward trend in average enrollment between 1915-916 and 1925-1926. The 54 colleges enrolled an average of 342.0 students in 1915-1916, 356.6 students in 1919-1920, and 528.4 students in 1925-1926; this represents a 55 percent increase over the 10-year period. The enrollment of the six Ohio colleges in the sample averaged 377.2 for 1915-1916; this decreased to 355.2 in 1919-1920 (three of the six colleges experienced enrollment declines), then increased to 569.0 students by 1925-1926. Antioch paralleled the Ohio subsample, declining from 112 students in 1915-1916 to 64 in 1919-1920, then increasing to 674 students in 1925-1926. Eight of the colleges in the total sample had individual enrollment increases of over 100 percent between 1915-1916 and 1925-1926, with the highest increase at 278 percent. Antioch, on the other hand, increased its enrollment 502 percent during this 10-year period, and its enrollment increase between 1919-1925 was even more impressive — 953 percent.

*These five states were Louisiana, Maryland, South Carolina, Alabama, and Nevada.

**This graph and the following two compare Antioch to the national sample (Total Average) and also to a subsample of the six Ohio colleges included in the total sample (Ohio Average).

FIGURE 1
ENROLLMENT



Although not visible in the increasing averages for the total sample, enrollments decreased in 20 of the 54 colleges between 1915-1916 and 1919-1920. Only five colleges experienced enrollment declines between 1919-1920 and 1925-1926, and two of these had had enrollments decline from 1915-1916. Much of this decrease for 1919-1920 can be attributed to World War I, which had caused national enrollments to drop drastically.[10] In fact, 69 percent of the colleges in the sample experienced enrollment decreases between 1915-1916 and 1917-1918.[11] Antioch paralleled this trend, its enrollment decreasing from 112 students in 1915-1916 to 96 in 1917-1918. While the reasons for this have been shown to be more complex than merely the effect of World War I (see Chapter II), the tremendous increase in enrollment in the five years after 1919-1920 emphasizes further Arthur E. Morgan's success in turning the College around.

The number of faculty employed at Antioch (Figure 2) also shows a greater increase than the averages of the other schools. Where the 54 colleges employed an average of 23.8 faculty members in 1915-1916, 26.4 in 1919-1920, and 35.2 in 1925-1926, the Ohio schools had averages of 25.7, 27.3, and 39.2 for these years. Antioch, in comparison, had 22 faculty members in 1915-1916 and 12 in 1919-1920. By 1925-1926, however, the College had 57 faculty members, an increase of 159 percent over its 1915-1916 number and 375 percent when the period from 1919-1920 to 1925-1926 is compared. While no other college was near Antioch's percentage of increase from 1919-1920 to 1925-1926 (only two exceeded 150 percent), two colleges did have higher percentages than Antioch over the 10-year period and two others were quite close to Antioch's percentage. In contrast, nine colleges had a net decrease in the number of faculty members between 1915-1916 and 1925-1926, most as a result of decreases between 1915-1916 and 1919-1920.

FIGURE 2
NUMBER OF FACULTY

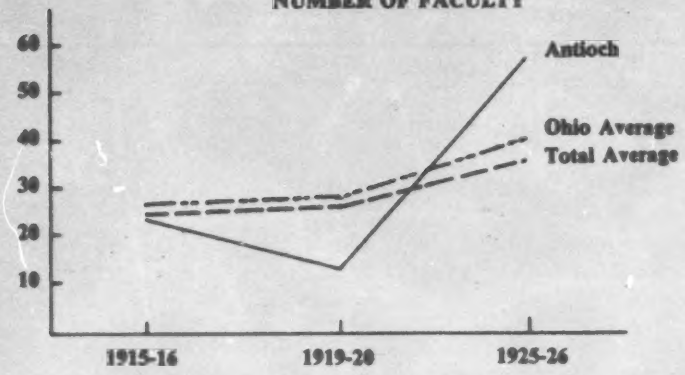
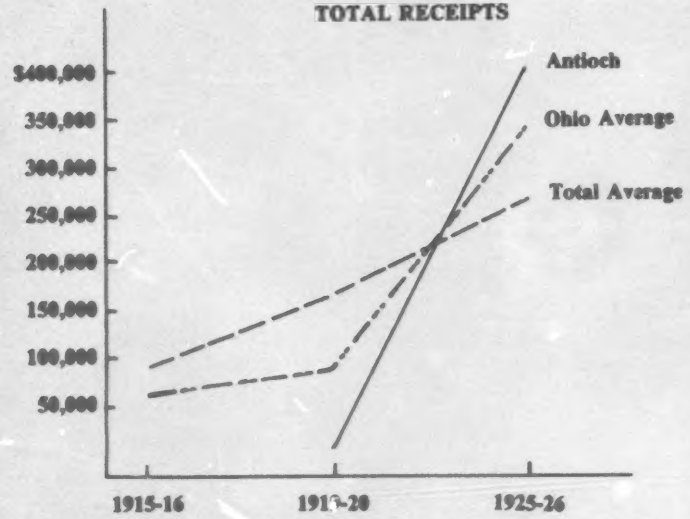


Figure 3 shows the total receipts of the colleges. There was an upward trend for the colleges in the sample, with the average total receipts for all the schools increasing from $84,857.4 in 1915-1916 to $157,135.5 in 1919-1920 to $262,120.8 in 1925-1926. Ohio schools' receipts were less than the sample average for the first time periods — $59,699.0 in 1915-1916 and $111,914.3 in 1919-1920 — but they exceeded the total sample in 1925-1926 with average total receipts of $336,548.0.

FIGURE 3
TOTAL RECEIPTS



Since 1915-1916 financial figures were not available for Antioch, it is impossible to make a comparison with the sample for that year. However, due to the long-standing financial problems of the institution, it would be safe to say that Antioch's total receipts could not have been much higher than its 1919-1920 levels. For the period from 1919-1920 to 1925-1926, Antioch's financial situation improved dramatically, and total receipts went from $17,750 to $403,692. When comparing percentages of increase for the individual colleges and Antioch, no college in the sample comes close to Antioch's increase of 2,174 percent for total receipts between 1919-1920 and 1925-1926.

These data indicate that Morgan's efforts to revitalize Antioch succeeded dramatically. While there was a general growth trend in liberal arts colleges during the first half of the 1920's, Antioch's growth far exceeded most other schools. Even when the data are looked at over a 10-year period (to eliminate most of the effects of World War I), Antioch's rate of growth is still exceptionally high.

NOTES

[1]Compiled from Antioch College *Bulletins*, vols. 12-22, 1916-1926; Robert L. Straker, ed., *Directory of Antioch College, 1850-1933*, Antioch College, 1933; R[obert] L. Straker, "Notes on Antioch History, 1903-1920," Antioch College, 1953.

[2]Grace K. Willett, memo to Mr. Swinnerton, ca. 1929-30.

[3]O. F. Mathiasen, memo to Mr. Swinnerton, November 5, 1929.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Antioch College Admissions Department, "Cause of Withdrawals, New Students, 1927-28; Withdrawal before April 3, 1928," 1928.

[6]Antioch College, Minutes of the Faculty Meeting, February 20, 1923.

[7]See Antioch College, Minutes of the Faculty Meeting, September 1, 1923; November 16, 1923; and October 28, 1924, among others.

[8]Antioch College, Minutes of the Faculty Meeting, February 17, 1922.

[9]Interview with John Dudley Dawson by George C. Newman, March 8, 1975.

[10]See Samuel P. Capen, "The Effect of the World War 1914-18 on American Colleges and Universities," *Educational Record* 21 (1940), pp. 40-48.

[11]The enrollment figures for 1917-1918 were obtained from Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, "Biennial Survey of Education, 1916-1918," *Bulletin*, No. 90 (1919).

VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Antioch College changed radically in size, purpose, and philosophy after 1920. Without question, the institution could not have assumed its new role in higher education without the efforts of Arthur E. Morgan, for he conceptualized a new design for the College, brought in new personnel, and provided the motivation for implementing the new program.

Morgan exercised absolute control as president during the first half of the 1920's. His ascension to a position of power began almost at the time he was elected to the Board of Trustees in 1919. After meeting the trustees and finding out that they had few ideas or plans on how to solve the apparent institutional crisis at the College, he moved almost instinctively to a position of control. Within 60 days of his election to the Board, he had proposed a radical change in the direction of the College and was given permission by the Board to plan an extensive reorganization for Antioch. Such a feat is unusual in an organizational structure that functions in a collegial manner. Ordinarily persons such as Morgan, who did not possess higher educational credentials or an association with higher education, would have had to gain validity and the respect of the educational community over a long period of time before embarking on such an endeavor. But Antioch's long-standing financial problem had reached a crisis stage, and no one had been able to find an answer to it. It is precisely for this reason that Morgan was able to gain a position of prominence so quickly.

In April of 1920, Morgan's plan for the restructuring of Antioch was given Board approval. It was at this time that he must have realized there would be no opposition to his ideas. He knew he could move ahead with his plans for Antioch and at the same time exercise a great deal of control over the new program. Morgan knew the ultimate power to effect change lay in the presidency of the College, and by July of 1920, he was sure he could assume the position without possessing the traditional educational credentials. Thus, on July 6, 1920, only a little over a year after he was first elected to the Board of Trustees, he asked that he be made president, and the Board agreed.

Arthur Morgan's first major function as president was to begin a major reorganization of the Board itself in order to guarantee support of his programs and to enhance the College's financial backing. Beginning with the replacement of three Board members at the time he became president, Morgan was instrumental in having elected to the Board 12 persons whom he identified as being of significant value to the immediate progress of the College. The election of these 12 persons was all accomplished within a four-month period. By October of 1920, therefore, he had mobilized strong support for his plans for the College.

The next step was acquiring a supportive faculty. At the same time he was formulating his plans for the curriculum, he was also interviewing a number of individuals for faculty positions. This interview process was somewhat unique in higher education. One long-time faculty member, hired in the mid-1920's, recounted his first meeting with Morgan. He was amazed that Morgan was not interested in his particular qualifications for a position with the College but instead spent the entire interview talking about his plans and goals for the College.[1] As a result he left the interview not only with the position but highly motivated by what Morgan had recounted about the prospects and possibilities of teaching at Antioch.

In the process of creating change in the direction and the programs at Antioch College, Morgan hired almost a complete new faculty for the fall of 1921 and added to or replaced a number of faculty during the period from 1921 to 1925. One of his primary motivations for hiring a new faculty was to select individuals who possessed qualities of personality, scholarship, and training which would enable them to

contribute immediately to the programs envisioned in the Antioch Plan. Morgan attempted to hire creative and self-initiating individuals for the Antioch faculty. He wanted to attract to Yellow Springs individuals from a variety of backgrounds and training; he was not interested in hiring only university graduates but sought and hired individuals from business and industry. Morgan had worked hard in life in order to achieve, and he hoped to hire people with the same inclinations. He had exceptionally high expectations for the success of the New Antioch, which to a large degree was shared by the faculty who were attracted by the Antioch experience. Only a few found they did not fit into the Antioch model and left the institution.

The newly hired faculty who came to Antioch were generally enthusiastic. They were inspired by the Antioch design and thrust themselves into developing programs and individual courses, in general attempting to implement the ideals of the Antioch Plan. As in any process of change where groups of new personnel are brought into a unique situation and called upon to develop the specifics of a program, however, within a few years of the conception of the Antioch Plan, the activities of the faculty shifted from development to maintenance. It is likely that by the mid-1920's, although it was not readily apparent, many faculty at Antioch had reached a point in the implementation of the new programs where they felt most of their efforts should be directed toward maintaining the courses and programs which they had developed under Morgan's direction. Morgan failed to recognize this occurrence until much later. In 1960 he stated:

> Because a considerable portion of the new faculty were persons who felt a lack of freedom in conventional education, and craved opportunity to creatively express themselves, I assumed that such a group would naturally view their work critically and creatively. I did not realize the extent to which the creative urge would be satisfied by relatively minor adjustments of conventional methods.[2]

Despite significant success, even in the mid-twenties Morgan was stating that the Antioch model was not complete and needed revision and improvement. Consequently, the faculty, which was satisfied with maintaining what had been accomplished, often did not measure up to his expectations. This resulted, in later years, in his disenchantment with their efforts. Overall, however, by 1925 he had succeeded in acquiring a faculty body which was almost wholly supportive of his ideas and which revered him as their leader.

By all accounts, Arthur E. Morgan was a charismatic leader, yet he was often referred to in later years as a benevolent dictator. He had a great deal of control over what was happening on the campus, even to the extent of having all business letters written by others routed through his office before being sent. Yet at the same time, he was open to the ideas and suggestions of others, whether they were faculty, students, or administrators. By necessity, much of the routine work at Antioch was delegated to others. Philip Nash, for example, handled much of the day-to-day activities of the College, but always under Morgan's direction. He often wrote Morgan during his travels, keeping him informed about what was happening on campus. During the early period, Morgan's formal contacts with the faculty consisted primarily of faculty meetings. He did talk to faculty individually, seeking their opinions on various matters, as well as inquiring about their progress in their teaching.[3] He attended as many faculty meetings as possible and spoke at campus-wide gatherings. But in the early years, the faculty were too busy launching the Antioch Plan to be greatly concerned with the extent of their influence in the decision-making process.

Although Morgan had proposed radical changes in Antioch's structure, his leadership style was generally very traditional. During the early years, most of the decisions as well as much of the power were concentrated at the top. Morgan would get

an idea and expect the faculty or his staff to implement it at once. Dissatisfaction with this procedure was minimal during the early years of the 1920's. Since Morgan was the originator of this new style of education, it was felt by most that he was the best judge of how to implement it. The slowness of putting into operation certain aspects of the Antioch Plan was therefore usually due to the diligence of the faculty in their attempts to successfully implement the plan. The faculty did not disagree with the idea of the autonomous plan, for example, but they were concerned about how to implement it while the entire Antioch Plan was still in the developmental stage. Indeed, the early years at Antioch found most, if not all, of the faculty working together to make Morgan's ideas a reality.

While Arthur Morgan's leadership was traditional in some respects, it was unusual in higher education at that time in terms of the experiences of his efforts to secure suitable faculty and students (through his elaborate information network) and to publicize the College through magazine articles and voluminous correspondence. Arthur E. Morgan was a great promoter of the College. He knew, almost instinctively, how to convey his ideas to others and was adept at the politics of persuasion. But more important was his ability to look at Antioch with the eyes of a shrewd businessman. He knew, for example, that it takes money to make money, and he was not intimidated by the prospect of deficit spending. Rather than waiting until enough money had been acquired before starting an extensive renovation project — as other college presidents might have done — he knew Antioch's one hope of attracting good faculty and students was to renovate the College beforehand. So, despite the fact that revenues from incoming students were far below the College's requirements, he went ahead with his plans for renovation and then worked to acquire the necessary money from various benefactors. This ability to see the entire situation and make plans which would be of long-run benefit to the institution was one of the factors which contributed to Morgan's successful leadership.

Besides Morgan's leadership, another reason often given for Antioch's transformation into an emerging institution was the Antioch Plan itself. Morgan believed Antioch was a response to a need. Most of education traditionally conceived of a curriculum as the transformation of specialized information, whereas Morgan perceived it as a combination of broad disciplines which were intended to give students fundamental theories and facts. Morgan de-emphasized specialization, insisting that it occur only in the autonomous courses. In addition, he felt that combining academic knowledge with practical experience enabled graduates of the College to gain a better perspective of the world around them. This did not result in a watering down of the traditional curriculum. Students who thought this would be the case soon discovered that the programs and plans of the College required them to expend a great deal of effort in order to achieve success.

One of Morgan's underlying purposes in structuring Antioch as he did was to mold it along the lines of a small community. He believed the Antioch Plan could only function effectively within a small college environment, and he conceived of it as being in competition with the university system of education. In Morgan's concept of education, the small college could accomplish things that universities could not, while it could assume certain university functions and perform them more effectively than the universities themselves.

Part of the small community concept was also embodied in Morgan's ideas for small industries. These were not only intended to provide needed income for the College and practical avenues for experience by the students, but they were also initially intended by Morgan to bring in new creative forces. This concept, in Morgan's mind, was an important part of his plan for establishing a self-sufficient, self-contained small community of scholars, inventors, and manufacturers. Another significant aspect of the small industries concept embodied in the Antioch Plan was the potential it

projected — the parallel fostering of cooperative arrangements between a college and business concerns. Had the small industries developed to the extent Morgan envisioned, Antioch's impact upon higher education may have been much greater.

Was there really a need for the type of program embodied within the ideals of the Antioch Plan? Certainly the continuously increasing enrollments and greater interest among prospective faculty during the first half of the 1920's point to the fact that Antioch's curriculum was fulfilling some kind of need. However, other educational institutions did not pick up the Antioch model, probably because of the difficulty in introducing such a major innovation into an already viable institution, and the Antioch Plan remained an isolated instance of progressivism in higher education. One of the basic tenets of the Antioch Plan was providing students with a means of socially, as well as economically, improving their lives. Morgan intended Antioch graduates to be leaders rather than followers. Thus, at Antioch, education was a tool which one could use to enhance his or her present status in society.

In the initial development of the Antioch curriculum Morgan had a great deal of influence, not only over the structure of the curriculum and the position of courses within it; to a large extent he monitored the content of the initial courses. This was necessary in the beginning because the pressures of Antioch's financial situation dictated rapid change. Morgan felt his efforts would be perceived by new faculty as guidelines and that the faculty in turn would be able to provide final form for the curriculum of the Antioch Plan. During the first few years of the New Antioch, most faculty did attempt to implement much of the individual course content and outlines developed by Morgan and the advisory committee. They felt they were a part of history, creating a new type of education, and they gladly followed Morgan's suggestions. Undoubtedly the excitement of creating a new and different college environment minimized any dissension between Morgan and the Antioch faculty during the early years of the New Antioch.[4]

In addition to the attractiveness of the Antioch curriculum and the support of the Board of Trustees and the faculty, there is another key factor in Morgan's ability to produce changes at Antioch. The College was in the midst of a grave crisis, without funds, faculty, or students. Morgan knew the crisis would allow him the latitude to restructure the College along the lines of his own personal philosophy. His comment upon seeing the College for the first time had been that it was near enough dead so that he would be able to make changes. Great change cannot be made when there is no apparent need for it, and Morgan was obviously aware of this. If a crisis situation is not evident, there is such a divergence of opinion about what should be done that it is impossible to produce extreme change because all sides must be appeased.

Morgan was indeed a charismatic leader and played a significant role in the reorganization of Antioch, but the sad state of the institution was as much a determining factor in his ability to produce change. Without the existence of a major crisis at Antioch, Morgan would have followed in the footsteps of his predecessors — unable to make more than minor or temporary changes in the direction of the College. Nevertheless, he differs from previous Antioch presidents in his creativeness, strength, and ability to follow through on his ideas. By making Antioch a unique educational institution, he provided the opportunity for it to compete with established institutions across the country, as well as with the numerous small colleges in Ohio. His strength of character, combined with his strong leadership ability, enabled him to implement successful change at a struggling little college.

It is clear that the two forces — the institution and the man — had to interact to produce innovation; one could not effect change without the other. Yet, the question remains whether it had to be this particular man and this particular institution. Morgan himself stated that there were several other colleges where he could have

implemented his cooperative plan and with less of a financial struggle;[5] but it is always easier in hindsight to assume that another course of action would have been as effective. People in general are resistant to change. It takes a crisis of the proportion that Antioch faced in 1919 to allow a single individual the latitude to implement the extensive and far-reaching changes which are synonymous with the Antioch Plan. Thus, while Arthur Morgan could have implemented the Antioch Plan at other institutions, he may well have met with much greater resistance and succeeded to a much lesser extent. In the same way, other individuals may have been able to save Antioch from its crisis, but it is a tribute to Morgan's personality and leadership skills that he was able to initially gain the support and loyalty of those who worked for him and succeed to the extent he did.

This combination of the College's needs and Arthur E. Morgan's abilities brought Antioch College to the forefront as a leader in innovative approaches to education. While higher education did not respond to Morgan's ideas to the extent he would have liked, the Antioch Plan served in later years as an example of the changes which could be made in an educational structure. In that sense Antioch was a forerunner of more recent innovation in higher education.

NOTES

[1]Interview with John Dudley Dawson by George C. Newman, March 8, 1975.

[2]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to James Dixon, December 7, 1960.

[3]Interview with Ernest Morgan by George C. Newman, June 26, 1975; interview with Algo Henderson by George C. Newman, July 17, 1975.

[4]For an interesting discussion of leadership in a new setting and how leaders interact with others in the setting, see Seymour B. Sarason, *The Creation of Settings and the Future Societies* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972).

[5]Interview with Arthur E. Morgan by Ann Cornog, November 5, 1951, p. 1.

VII. EPILOGUE

> While we rejoice in what we have done, it is but a promise, a suggestion of what can be. In its finest aspects, the Antioch that is to be is still a matter of our dreams. Sometimes the job seems just routine — the same old situations to meet, the same grind of courses, the same bitter fight for economic existence; sometimes there seems to be nothing fine — when we see just the day's work to be done.
>
> The hope of Antioch is that some people are thinking of what may be, not just what is here today. Being a good college is not the end; the fact that we have achieved high standards is no cause for contentment. We dream of a college such as never has existed.[1]

Almost prophetically, these comments of Arthur E. Morgan were a prelude to events which would occur at Antioch after 1925. In many ways, Antioch continued to develop the concepts initiated during the 1920-1921 reorganization period. The problems of maintaining an adequate financial base continued to be a dominant issue for the College throughout Morgan's remaining tenure as president. The physical facilities on the campus continued to grow with the addition of a new residence hall, library, gymnasium, chapel, and science hall. Much of the funding was given by individual donors, with Charles F. Kettering again one of the major contributors. During the same campus expansion, the College purchased tracts of land in Yellow Springs adjacent to the campus, and with Morgan's assistance and the architectural design of his wife Lucy, a number of faculty residences were built. The largest land addition occurred at the College when, through the persuasive efforts of Arthur E. Morgan, the College acquired a large tract of 1,000 acres of woodland adjacent to the campus from an Antioch alumnus, Hugh Taylor Birch. This area, which offered the beauty of a natural wildlife preserve, was known as Glen Helen in memory of Birch's daughter, Helen Birch Bartlett.

In addition, the late twenties marked efforts by Antioch College to extend its influence beyond the campus into areas of applied and pure research. In 1929, the Fels Research Institute was established; this institute was primarily concerned with the study of human development. The Fels Institute was shortly followed, in 1930, by the establishment of the Kettering Foundation. Its major objective was conducting research on chlorophyll and photosynthesis. Both research institutes eventually brought a variety of new individuals into the Antioch community, although for the most part both operated autonomously from the College.

Another major event of the late 1920's occurred in 1927, when the North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges made an official accreditation visit to Antioch College to assess its programs, faculty, and philosophy of education. As a result of their visit, the College was granted provisional accreditation status. This was a significant event for both the institution and Arthur E. Morgan, who had worked toward this goal since his election to the Antioch Board of Trustees in 1919. Equally significant is the impact that the accreditation process for Antioch had on the North Central Association. As a result of their accreditation study of Antioch College, the Association made modifications in the standards used to evaluate liberal arts colleges.[2] Thus the Antioch experience influenced how a major accrediting body viewed small colleges; this was one of the ways in which the Antioch model affected traditional higher education.

What made the period after 1925 different from the previous years, however, was the relationship between Morgan, the faculty, and the students. During the period of reorganization, through the stages of development, both faculty and students had been inspired by Morgan's leadership and the Antioch Plan. Faculty had been chiefly

preoccupied with working to implement specific objectives — developing courses, selecting students, arranging student placement in the cooperative system, as well as bridging the gap between the old and new Antioch climate. They had not had the opportunity or time to examine the direction of the College, their role, or the leadership style of Morgan in the process of providing education at Antioch.

After 1925, the issues confronting Morgan and the College shifted in complexity, nature, and direction. As Antioch stabilized, debate and discussion over governance patterns at the institution emerged, which resulted in 1926 in the establishment of the Executive Council (later known as the Administrative Council).[3] This structure brought faculty, administrators, and eventually students and community people into the decision-making process at the College. The purpose of the council was to provide an opportunity for a variety of individuals to take part in the management of the College on a more frequent basis than the Board of Trustees meetings. It also functioned as a balance between faculty and management. By 1930, the Administrative Council was incorporated into the College charter.

During the late twenties and early thirties, as the College grew in size, conflict to some degree replaced the politics of consensus. The conflicts which emerged at Antioch during this period were external as well as internal in nature. Morgan and the College faced a critical struggle with the Dayton Power and Light Company over the question of private versus public regulation of power in local communities such as Yellow Springs, and over the question of who should control and supply power to the College and the community. (Morgan was developing a power plant at the College and wanted to supply power to the community as well.) The conflict became so intense that it affected the attitude of many individuals toward the College. After considerable debate and discussion, Morgan was succesaful in defending his case with the power company.

As the institution became more prominent nationally, it attracted highly capable teachers, some with controversial teaching styles or differing philosophies of education. A few of these faculty members later became embroiled with Morgan over the process of education at Antioch. However, this critical temper was in keeping with the faculty profile that Morgan envisioned, which enabled students to hear different perspectives, points of view, and ideologies. From the beginning of the New Antioch, Morgan had sought to bring speakers to campus to lecture on a variety of different subjects and thereby arouse curiosity and critical inquiry among the student body. He felt that part of the Antioch experience was to create a spirit of independence and individual inquiry which would be tolerated and accepted under the guidelines of the college charter.

In the late 1920's, different faculty and students took sides on a variety of issues, ranging from the question of race relations to labor union activity. Morgan took great care to defend his faculty and their right to academic freedom; this also extended to various student organizations and groups. In the mid-twenties, the students started a campus publication, **The Blaze**, which at times was critical of the college, societal issues, and Morgan's leadership.[4] Morgan did not react arbitrarily to student dissent but instead considered the dialogue as constructive criticism. In one instance, his tolerance for dissent did cause him to lose some outside support for the College, however. Charles F. Kettering reacted strongly against student criticism of business enterprise,* but Morgan and Kettering were able to resolve their differences, and Kettering continued to support the College.

*Kettering had become irritated with the College when articles written by students and faculty were critical of the business community. He was particularly upset over statements made by an economist, William Leiserson, a member of the Antioch faculty who spoke and wrote in the defense of labor versus the monopolistic practices of industry. Morgan defended Leiserson, a person he admired and respected, who was a well-respected teacher and experienced labor negotiator.

Other events which emerged as the College became recognized as a prominent institution occurred in the nonacademic area, particularly in the cooperative plan. During the second half of the 1920's, the cooperative system had expanded and was renamed the Extramural Department. In the early 1920's, students had been assigned to jobs in the surrounding metropolitan area; by the 1930's they were taking cooperative positions throughout the country.* The innovativeness of the cooperative plan, coupled with the growing pattern of divergent criticism over institutional goals, made it evident by the 1930's that there were distinctive organizational and philosophical differences between the academic and nonacademic personnel at the College. This was an issue which would confront Morgan's successor.

Despite the growing number of issues which appeared to divide individual allegiances, however, some significant cooperative efforts did take place at the College. One of these, which took place during the thirties and was partly due to the Depression, was the unity and support given by personnel to accept a reduction in salary so that no one would have to be terminated because of insufficient funds. This move on the part of the general campus community, coupled with the sophisticated financial management of Arthur Morgan, enabled the institution to maintain its total program during a critical monetary period which had caused other institutions to take more drastic measures.

The conflict and discussion over the direction of the institution and Morgan's leadership came to a head in 1931 when Morgan, on leave in Europe, became discouraged with his progress at Antioch and wrote a critical statement of assessment. He said that the College had not lived up to its original ideals and that a good deal of the blame lay with the inertia of the faculty.[5] In his statement, Morgan was critical of faculty whom he felt had not helped to mold and foster the ideals of the Antioch model. He also felt the College had not successfully fulfilled its mission, and he attributed this partly to his own preoccupation with issues outside the campus, as well as to the delegation of responsibility to the general faculty. Morgan's pessimistic critique was not totally startling, since on previous occasions he had expressed concern to the point of considering whether the original mission of the College should be dismissed and new plans designed. However, his earlier criticisms had not been widely publicized and thus were known only by people closely associated with Morgan and with the running of the College.

The critique of Antioch by Morgan in 1931, which became known as the Portugal letter, was brought to the attention of the faculty as a whole. It caused considerable commotion within the faculty and administrative ranks, and Algo Henderson, who

*Geographical distribution of employers:

	No. in Ohio	No. in Other States
1921-22	112	1 in 1 state
1922-23	121	8 in 6 states
1923-24	131	21 in 8 states
1924-25	109	27 in 12 states
1925-26	107	47 in 11 states
1926-27	140	58 in 10 states
1927-28	121	84 in 12 states
1928-29	104	81 in 13 states
1929-30	103	87 in 13 states
1930-31	102	134 in 15 states
1931-32	68	107 in 13 states
1932-33	58	124 in 21 states

Source: Antioch College, "The Extramural School," October 1933.

acted for Morgan during his periodic leaves in the thirties, gathered key administrators and sympathetic faculty together upon receiving Morgan's letter.[6] Through careful planning, the entire faculty was brought together and told of the contents of the statement. A series of letters criss-crossed the Atlantic over a period of several months in an attempt to form a compromise. In substance, the faculty as a whole expressed a desire for Morgan to continue as president so that together they could examine the specifics of his criticism. Apparently the attempt to open a dialogue between Morgan and the faculty was productive in that it induced Morgan to continue his experiment in progressive education upon returning to the campus.

By 1933, Arthur E. Morgan had attracted national acclaim; he had written numerous articles about education and engineering, and descriptions as well as illustrations of the Antioch model had appeared in national publications. Also, in the 1920's he had begun to write monthly statements, known as the **Antioch Notes**, which had been favorably received and were read by a variety of individuals in significant positions. In 1933, partly out of reading the **Antioch Notes**, as well as because of Morgan's engineering expertise, Franklin Delano Roosevelt asked Arthur Morgan to accept an appointment as the chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority.[7] The TVA project was intended to be a massive restoration project of total communities and land in the southern states, which some experts have considered to be more instrumental in restoring the South than Reconstruction.

Arthur E. Morgan accepted the TVA chairmanship and joined co-directors Harcourt Morgan, formerly president of the University of Tennessee, and David Lilienthal, a young political economist from the University of Chicago. Morgan initially did not plan to assume a permanent position with the Tennessee Valley Authority, so Algo Henderson was appointed acting president of Antioch during his leave to work with the TVA project. Henderson proved to be an extremely earnest and perceptive acting head; he kept Morgan acquainted with the events and issues facing the College. By 1936, however, Morgan realized that he needed to make a decision either to remain with the TVA or resign and return to his presidency at Antioch College. Morgan chose to resign his Antioch position, and Algo Henderson succeeded Morgan as the twelfth president of Antioch College, a position he served in until 1947.

Morgan was not to remain with the TVA for long, however. As a result of disagreements with Harcourt Morgan and David Lilienthal, as well as with President Roosevelt over the proper role of the TVA, Morgan was terminated by Roosevelt in 1938. He then returned to Yellow Springs to involve himself in research and writing pursuits. In the 1940's he established Community Service, Inc., in Yellow Springs; this organization aided in creating a number of social welfare projects, among them service to senior citizens and youth in Yellow Springs. His efforts in Community Service became a source of inspiration and a model for other small communities concerned with organizing similar ventures.

Arthur Morgan had a most profitable and active career in Yellow Springs. Always in semi-retirement after his experience with the TVA, he participated in numerous ventures ranging from serving on the Indian Universities Commission for Higher Education in Rural India, to writing on such subjects as engineering, water control projects, and utopianism. Morgan did not take an active role in the events of Antioch College after 1936, although he was given the rank of professor emeritus and occasionally gave lectures or classes on the campus. Over the years his advice was asked on different issues, and in the 1950's he accepted a request to chair the search committee to select a new president for the College. Ever interested in the College he restored to prominence, Arthur E. Morgan remained partially involved in Antioch activities and affairs until his death in November of 1975, at the age of 97.

NOTES

[1]Arthur E. Morgan, quote, Thanksgiving Dinner, 1924. (Mimeographed.)

[2]Interview with Floyd Reeves by George C. Newman, June 12, 1975; interview with Algo Henderson by George C. Newman, July 17, 1975.

[3]See Antioch College, Minutes of the Administrative Council, May 14, 1926. (Microfilm.)

[4]See "Blaze History," *Blaze* 3 (June 15, 1927), p. 4-5.

[5]Arthur E. Morgan, letter to the Antioch Faculty, December 3, 1931.

[6]A[lgo] D. Henderson, "Faculty Bulletin #916," Antioch College, January 5, 1932.

[7]For a fuller description of Morgan's years with the TVA, see Thomas K. McGraw, *Morgan vs. Lilienthal: The Feud within the TVA* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1970).

APPENDIX A: HISTORIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

In the last several decades the historiography of higher education has begun to shift in emphasis from mere chronologies and nostalgic descriptions of individual colleges and universities or presidential histories toward a more critical examination of the factors, themes, and personalities associated with higher education.[1] Today's historians of higher education are looking at old questions from new perspectives. Bernard Bailyn's book on the history of education,[2] published in 1960, was one of the first to describe education in terms of its impact on and relationship to society, identifying variables that could be quantified. Contemporary historians of education as well as of social and intellectual history have begun to focus on new interdisciplinary themes, utilizing behavioral science techniques to both qualitatively and quantitatively explain trends, events, issues, and personalities.

There are three major works which not only look at a number of aspects of higher education but also illustrate the trend of historiography today. In **The American College and University: A History,**[3] Frederick Rudolph traced themes such as the origin of institutions, personalities of key figures, development and impact of institutions, effect of intercollegiate athletics, women's higher education, and innovations that became associated with certain institutions. John Brubacher and Willis Rudy's **Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1976,**[4] like Rudolph's, traced the development of higher education in the United States. In doing so they described forces of growth, organizational structure, and financial as well as curricular trends of the college and university.

In the mid-1960's Laurence Veysey's **The Emergence of the American University**[5] marked one of the first critical examinations of the forces, themes, and philosophies which accompanied the transition of higher education from independent colleges to the complex institutions of the university movement. Veysey examined and compared institutions and higher educational philosophies; he also looked at differences and similarities among the old and new leaders in the field. Veysey's work illustrated the transitional and gradual changes that were brought about in the emergence of the university in the late nineteenth century. His work has influenced historians of higher education because of the contrast and comparison approach he used. This approach has enabled others to discover new answers about the growth and impact of nineteenth-century higher education.

A number of other authors have looked at specialized areas of higher education in an attempt to understand the complexities of the academic world. A notable example of this is Robert A. McCaughey's "The Transformation of American Academic Life: Harvard University, 1821-1892."[6] This article describes the shift in faculty types and attitudes toward Harvard throughout the nineteenth century and the factors which caused this shift. The development and evolution of the curriculum has also received careful analysis, as demonstrated in Frederick Rudolph's recent work, **Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study Since 1636.**[7] Even the origin and development of individual disciplines has been studied, as in Paul H. Buck's **Social Sciences at Harvard, 1860-1920: From Inculcation to the Open Mind.**[8] Another area which has recently received attention from historians is the role the student has played in higher education. David F. Allmendinger's **Paupers and Scholars: The Transformation of Student Life in Nineteenth-Century New England**[9] provides insight into an area which many earlier authors had virtually ignored.

The history of Antioch College during the early 1920's provides a rich opportunity to explore the process of change in a higher educational institution and to study the leadership role of the College's change agent, Arthur E. Morgan. Despite a substantial

amount of literature, however, the story of Antioch College and Morgan's years as president has not been fully told. While a number of individuals have written about Arthur Morgan, most have either focused on his work as the first chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority[10] or chronicled his lifetime.[11] Those who have described his work at Antioch have generally been content to discuss the programs Morgan implemented and the individuals who comprised the faculty, without subjecting the period and the issues to an exhaustive analysis. Likewise, there have been few studies which focused upon the College itself.[12] Robert L. Straker, an Antioch faculty member, spent years researching the history of Antioch from its beginnings to the early Morgan years, but he died before completing a major work on the subject.[13] More recently, Burton Clark wrote **The Distinctive College**,[14] which looks at Antioch, Reed, and Swarthmore Colleges and traces the development of their unique programs over a number of years.* Clark's analysis emphasizes that institutions like Antioch have been molded by strong and forceful personalities, a process which created a certain charisma for the colleges which in turn helped make them well-known and successful. While this conclusion cannot be disputed, it provides perhaps too simple an answer to a complex question.

*His description of Antioch covered four presidencies, beginning with Arthur Morgan's.

NOTES

[1]A number of historians have discussed this change in the historiography of higher education. See, for example, John E. Talbott, "The History of Education," *Daedalus* 100 (Winter 1971), pp. 133-150; Laurence R. Veysey, "Toward a New Direction in Educational History: Prospect and Retrospect," *History of Education Quarterly* 9 (Fall 1969), pp. 343-360; Douglas Sloan, "Historiography and the History of Education," in *Review of Research in Education*, ed. Fred N. Kerlinger (Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock Publishers, 1973), pp. 239-269; Geraldine J. Clifford, "Saints, Sinners, and People: A Position Paper on the Historiography of American Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 15 (Fall 1975), pp. 257-272; Burton R. Clark, "Development of the Sociology of Higher Education," *Sociology of Education* 46 (Winter 1973), pp. 2-15; Mark Beach, "Presidents' Eye-View of the History of Higher Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 12 (Winter 1972), pp. 575-587; Harvey J. Graff, "'The New Math' Quantification, the 'New' History, and the History of Education," *Urban Education* 11 (January 1977), pp. 403-440.

[2]Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of Society: Needs and Opportunities for Research* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960).

[3]Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962).

[4]John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1976*, 3rd. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1976).

[5]Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

[6]Robert A. McCaughey, "The Transformation of American Academic Life: Harvard University, 1821-1892," *Perspectives in American History* 8 (1974), pp. 239-334.

[7]Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study Since 1636* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977).

[8]Paul H. Buck, ed., *Social Sciences at Harvard, 1860-1920: From Inculcation to the Open Mind* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).

[9]David F. Allmendinger, *Paupers and Scholars: The Transformation of Student Life in Nineteenth-Century New England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975).

[10]Thomas K. McGraw, *Morgan vs. Lilienthal: The Feud within the TVA* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1970); Ronald K. Clayton, "Arthur Ernest Morgan and the Development of an Adult Education Enterprise within the Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933-1938" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1975).

[11]Roy Talbert, "Beyond Pragmatism: The Story of Arthur E. Morgan" (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1973); Clarence T. Leuba, *A Road to Creativity: Arthur Morgan, Engineer, Educator, Administrator* (North Quincy, Mass.: Christopher Publication House, 1971); Lucy G. Morgan, *Finding His World: The Story of Arthur E. Morgan* (Yellow Springs, O.: Kahoe & Co., 1928); Walter Kahoe, *Arthur Morgan: A Biography and Memoir* (Moylan, Pa.: Whimsie Press, 1977).

[12]Harvard F. Vallance, "A History of Antioch College" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1936); Robert L. Straker, *The Unseen Harvest: Horace Mann and Antioch College* (Yellow Springs, O.: Antioch Press, 1955).

[13]Although Straker did write two books on the Mann years — Robert L. Straker, *The Unseen Harvest: Horace Mann and Antioch College* (Yellow Springs, O.: Antioch Press, 1955); and Robert L. Straker, *Horace Mann and Others* (Yellow Springs, O.: Antioch Press, 1963) – his only publication on Antioch's entire history was a small pamphlet entitled *A Brief Sketch of Antioch College, 1852-1921* (Yellow Springs, O.: Antioch College Office of Information, n.d.).

[14]Burton R. Clark's *The Distinctive College: Antioch, Reed and Swarthmore* (Chicago: Aldine, 1970) is considered to be a major work on academic change from the historical perspective. Another recent, significant study which looks historically at academic change is Martin Duberman's *Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1972). It focuses on an academic community, Black Mountain College, and the changes it underwent during its history. Duberman's work is similar to this study of Antioch in the utilization of oral historical data to recreate or reinterpret the impact of events and changes.

APPENDIX B: DOCUMENTATION

TABLE 1
MEMBERS OF THE ANTIOCH COLLEGE BOARD OF TRUSTEES AS OF JUNE 17, 1919

Joined	Name and Address
1873	J. Warren Keifer, Springfield, Ohio
1877	S. C. Derby, Columbus, Ohio
1887	E. A. DeVore, Indianapolis, Indiana
1904	George D. Black, Yellow Springs, Ohio
1907	Simeon D. Fess, Yellow Springs, Ohio
1907	George Drake, Yellow Springs, Ohio
1907	Perry M. Stewart, Yellow Springs, Ohio
1909	Francis C. Caldwell, Columbus, Ohio
1910	W. B. Patton, Springfield, Ohio
1911	Ralph Howell, Yellow Springs, Ohio
1913	Lewis M. Hosea, Cincinnati, Ohio
1913	Howard Little, Xenia, Ohio
1914	George Little, Xenia, Ohio
1916	J. Peery Miller, Yellow Springs, Ohio
1917	Albert F. Hagar, Yellow Springs, Ohio
1917	Oliver W. Powers, Dayton, Ohio
1917	Homer Corry, Springfield, Ohio
1919	John Malik, Cincinnati, Ohio
1919	Arthur E. Morgan, Dayton, Ohio

Sources: Antioch College *Bulletin*, vol. 15 (April 1919); R[obert] L. Straker, "Notes on Antioch History, 1903-1920," Antioch College, 1953, p. 379.

TABLE 2
MEMBERS OF THE ANTIOCH COLLEGE BOARD OF TRUSTEES AS OF OCTOBER 19, 1920

Joined	Name and Address
1873	J. Warren Keifer, Springfield, Ohio
1907	George Drake, Yellow Springs, Ohio
1909	Francis C. Caldwell, Columbus, Ohio
1911	Ralph Howell, Yellow Springs, Ohio
1913	Lewis M. Hosea, Cincinnati, Ohio
1914	George Little, Xenia, Ohio
1917	Homer Corry, Springfield, Ohio
1919	Arthur E. Morgan, Dayton, Ohio
June 1920	John C. Haswell, Dayton, Ohio
June 1920	Charles F. Kettering, Dayton, Ohio

June 1920	Frank D. Slutz, Dayton, Ohio
June 1920	George M. Verity, Middletown, Ohio
July 1920	William A. Chryst, Dayton, Ohio
July 1920	John H. Hunt, Dayton, Ohio
July 1920	Gordon S. Rentschler, Hamilton, Ohio
Oct. 1920	Henry S. Dennison, Framingham, Massachusetts
Oct. 1920	Edward F. Gay, New York
Oct. 1920	Jerome Greene, New York
Oct. 1920	William Mayo, Detroit, Michigan
Oct. 1920	Ellery Sedgwick, Boston, Massachusetts

Sources: R[obert] L. Straker, "Notes on Antioch History, 1903-1920," Antioch College, 1953; [Arthur E. Morgan], "The Aim of Education, [December 1920].

TABLE 3

OPERATING BUDGET FOR REORGANIZATION YEAR, JUNE 11, 1920 — JUNE 13, 1921

INCOME ACCOUNTS		
Treasurer's Report:		
Income Account — General Fund	$8,639.36	
Income Account — Joy Fund	1,406.09	
Principal Account — General Fund	7,700.00	
Principal Account — Joy Fund	4,500.00	22,245.45
Reorganization Accounts:*		
Campaign Contributions	15,707.00	
Campaign Pledges	53,283.00	
Donations	6,000.00	
Registration Fees	390.00	
Bank Interest	57.78	
Cash Discount on Purchases	1.67	75,439.45
TOTAL INCOME		97,684.90
EXPENSE ACCOUNTS		
Treasurer's Report:		
General Fund	9,041.22	
Principal Account — General Fund	7,451.06	
Principal Account — Joy Fund	4,497.52	20,989.80
Reorganization Accounts:		
Campaign Expense	826.04	
Expense A.E.M.	1,440.92	
General Expense	1,884.47	
Office Expense	345.00	
Office Salaries General	5,609.76	
Office Salaries Campaign	2,107.57	
Office Supplies	1,539.70	

Publications	1,620.34	
Publicity	1,749.54	
Miscellaneous Outstanding Accounts	600.00	
Bank Discount	323.20	18,046.54
TOTAL EXPENSE		39,036.34
NET PROFIT		$58,648.56

*For the period July 12, 1920 June 13, 1921

Source: Antioch College, "Operating Statement for June 11, 1920-June 13, 1921," June 13, 1921

TABLE 4

CONTRIBUTIONS TO ANTIOCH COLLEGE, $5,000 OR MORE, 1921-1933

Name	Amount
Charles F. Kettering, Detroit, Michigan (and Dayton, Ohio)	$500,747.30
Vice-President and Director, General Motors Corporation; President, General Motors Research Corporation	249,200.00
Keith Fund	
Hugh T. Birch, Chicago, Illinois (and Yellow Springs, Ohio) Attorney	211,527.97
Samuel S. Fels, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania President and Director, Fels and Company	177,000.00
Mr. and Mrs. Allen C. Balch, Los Angeles, California President, Southern California Gas Company	161,000.00
Mr. and Mrs. W. S. Cast, New York City President and Director, Case, Pomeroy and Company	157,500.00
William Thum, Pasadena, California Capitalist	88,290.98
General Education Board (Rockefeller Foundation), New York City	77,625.00 70,000.00
Carnegie Corporation, New York City	68,503.21
William Bancroft, Wilmington, Delaware Director, Joseph Bancroft and Sons Company	
Anonymous (H.G.B.)	63,911.15
Ellen Mason, Boston, Massachusetts	50,000.00
Mrs. Jessie Armstrong, Erie, Pennsylvania	31,600.00
Mrs. Howland Paddock, Beverly Hills, California	25,000.00
Dave H. Morris, New York City Lawyer, American Ambassador to Belgium	24,700.00
Henry S. Dennison, Framingham, Massachusetts President and Director, Dennison Manufacturing Company	21,200.00
General Electric Company, Schenectady, New York	17,044.55
Mr. and Mrs. Robert J. S. Schwarzenbach, New York City President, Schwarzenbach, Huber and Company	15,750.00
J. C. Penney Foundation, New York City	15,000.00
Albert M. Graves Fund, Rochester, New York	13,775.00

Mrs. Leonard Elmhirst, New York City (and Devonshire, England)	13,000.00
Ohio Association of Retail Lumber Dealers, Xenia, Ohio	12,808.33
C. H. Scovell, Boston, Massachusetts Member firm of Scovell-Wellington and Company	12,752.80
Dayton Malleable Iron Company, Dayton, Ohio	12,585.00
Joseph P. Day, New York City President and Director, Joseph P. Day, Incorporated	11,000.00
National Cash Register Company, Dayton, Ohio	10,220.00
Gordon Rentschler, New York City President, National City Bank	10,200.00
Percy S. Straus, New York City President, R. H. Macy and Company	9,550.00
Henry S. Bowers, New York City Partner, Goldman, Sachs and Company	9,500.00
H. W. Ashley, Toledo, Ohio Railroad executive	7,800.00
George Little, Xenia, Ohio President, The Hooven and Allison Company	7,739.06
William B. Mayo, Detroit, Michigan Formerly Chief Engineer, Ford Motor Company	7,000.00
Mr. and Mrs. Anonymous	6,900.00
Charles S. Mott, Detroit, Michigan Vice-President, General Motors Corporation	6,500.00
John C. Haswell, Dayton, Ohio President and General Manager, Dayton Malleable Iron Company	6,249.97
Ellery Sedgwick, Boston, Massachusetts Editor, **Atlantic Monthly**, and President, Atlantic Monthly Company	6,000.00
John Treanor, Los Angeles, California President and Director, Riverside Cement Company	6,000.00
A. E. Pillsbury, Boston, Massachusetts Lawyer	5,860.00
Julia S. Carnell (Mrs. W. G.), Dayton, Ohio	5,600.00
J. W. Griggs, St. Paul, Minnesota (and Pasadena, California)	5,301.00
Maurice Fels, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Fels and Company	5,200.00
J. Noel Macy, White Plains, New York President, Westchester County Publishers, Incorporated	5,000.00
TOTAL	$2,222,141.32

Sources: Antioch College, "People Who Have Contributed to Antioch College in the Amount of $5,000 or More Since 1921," May 1, 1933; Antioch College, "Recent Contributors to Antioch College Whose Gifts Have Been $5,000 or More," prepared by A. D. Henderson, May 1, 1933.

TABLE 5
NOTES PAYABLE, 1924-1925 BUDGET

Loaner	Length of Loan	Interest Rate	Amount Payable
Dayton Savings & Trust Co.	Demand	6%	$15,000.00
City National	Demand	7%	18,000.00
Citizens Savings & Trust	6 Mo	7%	9,000.00
Old Colony	6 Mo	5½%	50,000.00
Dayton Malleable			10,000.00
Old Colony	6 Mo	5½%	42,500.00
Price Brothers	1 Yr.	6%	7,088.23
First National	6 Mo	6%	14,000.00
Highland Park			13,000.00
Fifth-Third			10,000.00
Dayton Savings & Trust Co.	6 Mo	7%	20,800.00
Xenia National	6 Mo	7%	7,425.00
C. F. Kettering	1 Yr	6%	10,000.00
C. F. Kettering	1 Yr		15,000.00
C. F. Kettering			12,000.00
C. F. Kettering			14,500.00
C. F. Kettering			14,000.00
C. F. Kettering	Open a/c		12,000.00
C. F. Kettering			21,000.00
			$300,813.23

Source: Antioch College "Notes and Mortgages Payable," May 31, 1924.

TABLE 6
OPERATING BUDGETS OF ANTIOCH COLLEGE, 1921-1929

	Expenses	Income	Deficit/Profit
PROPOSED to July 1, 1922	$342,600	$157,700	($184,900)
PROPOSED to July 1, 1923	207,250	103,500	(103,750)
ACTUAL to May 31, 1924	242,229	193,374	(48,855)
PROPOSED to July 1, 1925	210,350	132,500	(77,850)
ACTUAL to April 30, 1926	212,607	201,078	(11,529)

ACTUAL for 1926-1927	288,151	303,164	15,013
ACTUAL for 1927-1928	303,200	342,523	39,323
ACTUAL for 1928-1929	336,645	358,215	21,570

Sources: Antioch College, "Condensed Budget, to July 1, 1922," June 2, 1921; Antioch College, "Budget, July 1, 1922 to July 1, 1923," [June 24, 1922]; Antioch College, "Operations, 1923-1924," May 31, 1924; Antioch College, "Budget 1924-1925," presented to the Board of Trustees June 5, 1924; Antioch College, "Secular Trend of Financial Budget, 1926-27 to 1930-31," ca. 1929.

TABLE 7

REQUIRED COURSES AT ANTIOCH COLLEGE IN 1926

First Semester	Second Semester
FIRST YEAR	
English 1	English 2
*Mathematics 1	*Mathematics 2
*Chemistry 1	*Chemistry 2
Education 1	Industrial Organization 1
Finance 1	Physical Education 1
Physical Education 1	
SECOND YEAR	
English 3	English 4
Biology 1	Biology 2
*Physics 1	*Physics 2
Physical Education 2	Physical Education 2
THIRD YEAR	
Social Science 1	Social Science 2
Psychology 1	Psychology 2
Geology 1	Geology 2
Economics 1	Economics 2
FOURTH YEAR	
Social Science 3	Social Science 4
Economics 3	Economics 4
Aesthetics 1	Aesthetics 2
Education 2	
FIFTH YEAR	
Social Science 31	Social Science 32
SIXTH YEAR	
Philosophy 11	Philosophy 12

* The courses taken by candidates for the A.B. degree are different from those taken by candidates for the B.S. degree.

Source: Antioch College *Bulletin*, vol. 22 (April 1926), p. 39.

TABLE 8

CHECKSHEET FOR PROSPECTIVE FACULTY

	Do Not Know	Deficient	Below Average	Average	Above Average	Excellent
CHARACTER						
Integrity: Moral soundness, honesty	___	___	___	___	___	___
Morality: Clean personal behaviour	___	___	___	___	___	___
Unselfishness:	___	___	___	___	___	___
Loyalty: Faithfulness in relationships	___	___	___	___	___	___
Courtesy: Manners which reflect consideration for others	___	___	___	___	___	___
PERSONALITY						
Earnestness: Intentness and seriousness of purpose	___	___	___	___	___	___
Perseverance:	___	___	___	___	___	___
Initiative: Habit of undertaking things without outside stimulus	___	___	___	___	___	___
Courage:	___	___	___	___	___	___
Leadership:	___	___	___	___	___	___
Cheerfulness:	___	___	___	___	___	___
Sociability:	___	___	___	___	___	___
Sensibility: Quickness and keenness of refined feeling and sympathy	___	___	___	___	___	___
Modesty: Aversion to being unnecessarily conspicuous	___	___	___	___	___	___
Adaptability: Ability to adjust one's self to conditions	___	___	___	___	___	___
INTELLIGENCE						
Reason: The faculty of thinking accurately from premise to conclusion	___	___	___	___	___	___
Judgment: The faculty of basing conclusions on accurate weighing or comparison of values	___	___	___	___	___	___
Understanding: Realizing the significance of experience	___	___	___	___	___	___

TABLE 8 (cont.)

	Do Not Know	Deficient	Below Average	Average	Above Average	Excellent
Originality: Thinking or acting independently of precedent						
Imagination: The characteristic of having constructive, original ideas						
Foresight: The quality of accurately forecasting future results						
Versatility: Facility in pursuing widely varied lines of thought or action						
Memory:						
BIOLOGICAL CONDITION						
Health: Bodily soundness						
Sanity: Mental soundness						
Physique: Bodily structure, as powerful or frail; whole, or with definite imperfections						
Hardihood: Physical endurance						
Physical Vigor: Abundance of physical energy						
Mental Vigor: Abundance of mental energy						
DEVELOPMENT						
Maturity: Completeness of development						
General Knowledge and Information:						
Experience: Opportunity for practical wisdom through events and observations						
Self-Reliance:						
Skill: Practical knowledge and ability						

Source: Antioch College. Valence Card of H. C. Joy, Boston, Mass., n.d.

TABLE 9

REPRESENTATIVE SALARIES BUDGETED FOR ANTIOCH FACULTY AND ADMINISTRATORS, 1921-1923

	Budgeted 1921-1922	Budgeted 1922-1923
President	$10,000	$10,000
Acting Dean	4,500	5,000
Director of Personnel Relations	5,400	3,500
Dean of Women	1,500	800
English Director	2,200	2,200
Social Science Professor	4,000	—
Biology Professor	3,000	3,000
Assistant Biology Professor	2,000	2,000
Psychology Professor	3,500	3,700
Professor of Education	4,200	—
Professor of Chemistry and Physics	3,000	3,500
Physical Education Professor	3,200	3,250
Architect	3,500	3,500
Librarian	1,600	1,500
Earth Sciences Professor	—	2,500

Sources: Antioch College. "Salary Account to July 1, 1922." June 2, 1921; Antioch College. "Budget, July 1, 1922 to July 1, 1923." [June 24, 1922].

TABLE 10
1921-1922 ANTIOCH FACULTY AND ADMINISTRATORS

Name and Degree	Title	Tenure
George Bigelow, Dr. P. H. (Harvard)	Director of Industrial Health	1921-1922
Fred Cavis	Director of Accounting	1921-1922
*Estelle Clark, Litt.D. (James Millikin U.)	Associate Professor of English	1913-1924
*William Dawson, A.M. (Ohio State)	Professor of German and Director of the Department of Languages and Literature	1897-1925
Horace English, Ph.D. (Yale)	Professor of Psychology	1921-1925 1927-1930
Evdell Everdell, A.B. (U. of Minnesota)	Associate Professor of Education	1921-1927
Richard Fowler, B.S.M.E. (Michigan State)	[unknown; possibly engineering]	1921-1922
Horace Gardner	Director of Personnel Administration	1921-1922
Louis Grandgent, B.S. (M.I.T.)	Director of Architecture	1921-1924
Emma Guntzer	Instructor in French	1921-1922
Arthur Hauck, A.B. (Reed College)	Assistant Dean and Professor of Education	1921-1922
Jesse Horner	Associate Director of Accounting	1921-1926
Iskander Hourwich	Lecturer on Industrial Research	1921-1924
Katharine Huey	Associate Professor of Personnel Administration	1921-1922
Ondess Inman, Ph.D. (Harvard)	Professor of Biology	1921-1930
J. Warren Keifer	Professor Emeritus of History	1920-1924
*Mary Kirkpatrick	Dean of Women	1917-1922
Arthur E. Morgan	President	1920-1936
Philip Nash, M.C.E. (Harvard)	Dean and Professor of Engineering	1921-1929
Roy Newton, Ph.D. (U. of California)	Professor of Physical Chemistry	1921-1922

TABLE 10 (cont.)

Name and Degree	Title	Tenure
*Charles Nosker, A.M. (U. of Chicago)	Associate Professor of Biology	1921-1938
Austin Patterson, Ph.D. (Johns Hopkins)	Professor of Chemistry	1921-1930
Earl Prugh, B.S. (Ohio Wesleyan)	Director of Physical Education and Associate Professor of Mathematics	1921-1926
Frank Slutz, Litt.D. (Denver U.)	Lecturer on Education	1921-1924
*Bessie Totten, Ph.B. (Antioch)	Associate Librarian	1900-1963
Emily Turner	Librarian	1921-1929
Julia Turner, A.M. (Columbia)	Professor of Household Economics	1921-1929
Hendrik Willem Van Loon, Ph.D. (U. of Munich)	Professor of Social Science	1921-1922
*Stephen Weston, Ph.D. (Columbia)	Professor of Philosophy and	1902-1919
	Secretary of the Faculty	1921-1925

*At Antioch before Morgan became president.

Sources: Antioch College *Bulletin*, vol. 17 (July 1921); Robert L. Straker, ed., *Directory of Antioch College, 1850-1933*, Antioch College, 1933; and R[obert] L. Straker, "Notes on Antioch History, 1903-1920," Antioch College, 1953.

APPENDIX C: THE COMPARATIVE SAMPLE

The sample of institutions similar to Antioch College was drawn from a 1919-1920 population of 670 universities, colleges, and professional schools.[1] A preliminary sample of 165 colleges — which were private, coeducational, liberal arts in orientation, and had enrollments between 100 and 500 for the year 1919-1920 — was condensed to its final size (54) through the use of accreditation lists. In order to be included in the final sample, a college had to appear on at least one of four accreditation lists[2] and at least two times during the three years lists were published: 1917, 1922, and 1926.[3] It was not necessary for the college to appear on the same accreditation list for two different years. (It should be noted that although Antioch was not accredited when Arthur Morgan became president, he did acquire accreditation for the school during the second half of the 1920's.)

The 54 colleges in the sample, plus Antioch, are as follows, with the colleges included in the Ohio sample marked by an asterisk:

Alfred U. (N.Y.)
Alma (Mich.)
*ANTIOCH (Ohio)
Baker U. (Kns.)
Bates (Me.)
Bethany (W.Va.)
Bradley Polytech (Ill.)
Carroll (Wisc.)
Carthage (Ill.)
Central (Mo.)
Central Wesleyan (Mo.)
Clark U. (Mass.)
Colby (Me.)
*Defiance (Ohio)
Doane (Neb.)
Drury (Mo.)
[U. of] Dubuque (Ia.)
[Coll. of] Emporia (Kns.)
Eureka (Ill.)
Fisk U. (Tenn.)
Franklin (Ind.)
Gustavus Adolphus (Minn.)
Hamline U. (Minn.)
Hanover (Ind.)
Hastings (Neb.)
*Heidelberg (Ohio)
Hendrix (Ark.)
Hillsdale (Mich.)
*Hiram (Ohio)
Huron (S.D.)
Ill. Wesleyan U. (Ill.)
Jamestown (N.D.)
Kalamazoo (Mich.)
Lombard (Ill.)
*Marietta (Ohio)
Middlebury (Vt.)
Missouri Valley (Mo.)
Monmouth (Ill.)
Northwestern C. (Ill.)
Occidental (Calif.)
Ottawa U. (Kns.)
*Otterbein U. (Ohio)
Park (Mo.)
Parsons (Ia.)
Penn (Pa.)
Reed (Ore.)
Ripon (Wisc.)
St. Olaf (Minn.)
Southwestern (Kns.)
Upper Iowa U. (Ia.)
Westminister (Pa.)
Wheaton (Ill.)
Whitman (Wash.)
William Jewell (Mo.)
*Wittenberg (Ohio)

*Statistics of 1914-1915.

NOTES

[1]Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, "Statistics of Universities, Colleges and Professional Schools. 1919-1920," *Bulletin*, No. 28 (1922).

[2]There were four main accreditation associations: the Association of American Universities, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and the American Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

[3]Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, "Accredited Higher Institutions," *Bulletin*, No. 37 (1917); Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, "Accredited Higher Institutions," *Bulletin*, No. 30 (1922); Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, "Accredited Higher Institutions," *Bulletin*, No. 41 (1926).

APPENDIX D: SOURCES

While a number of the references cited in this monograph are from books and articles available in many libraries, much of the information was obtained from unpublished sources. Arthur E. Morgan's books, articles, letters, and other papers; college materials such as minutes of meetings, budgets, and reports; and unpublished dissertations and other materials pertaining to Antioch can all be found in the Antiochiana collection, housed in the Olive Kettering Library at Antioch College. Three of the oral interviews of Arthur E. Morgan — one conducted by Ann Cornog and two by Maury Waters — have been transcribed and are a part of the Antiochiana collection. Those oral interviews conducted by the author are on cassette tape and are currently in the author's possession.

101

91 96

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